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CATHEDRALS, ABBEYS & FAMOUS CHURCHES

EDITED BY GORDON HOME

GLOUCESTER TEWKESBURY AND DISTRICT

BY

EDWARD FOORD

AUTHOR OF "THE LAST AGE OF ROMAN BRITAIN," "THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE," ETC.

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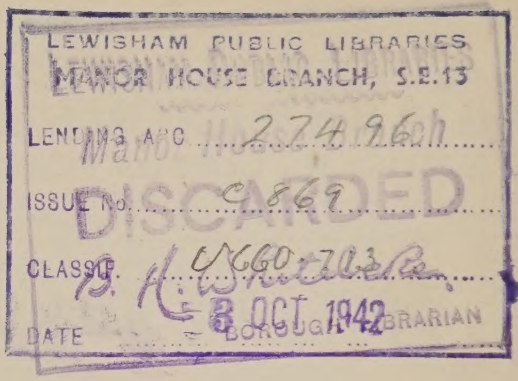
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EDITOR'S PREFACE

GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL and its splendid neighbour the abbey-church of Tewkesbury, together with some famous Gloucestershire churches not far away, are the subject of this little work. It is one of a series of volumes devoted to cathedrals, abbeys and famous churches. They are planned to be small enough for the pocket and yet sufficiently large to give adequate scope for illustration and a very readable size of type.

The aim which I have set before me in these books is the presentation, as far as possible, of *the personal aspects of the great buildings*. I have encouraged the authors to write as fully as space permits of the men who raised the vast structures, and of those whose energy and enterprise brought about the successive remodellings and reconstructions which have left to the present age these inspiring works, of what I do not hesitate to call the noblest and most all-embracing forms of art. The men and women whose monuments or unmarked burial-places are in the cathedrals, have, as far as possible, been presented as human beings. While the architecture is fully described, the authors have been urged not to try the patience of those to whom architectural terminology conveys comparatively little. It is my hope, therefore, that the books will stimulate the interest of many who have in the

past found the great churches of England a ponderous and uninspiring subject.

As a single example of the emphasis which Mr. Foord, the author of this volume, has placed upon the human side of Gloucester Cathedral, I would draw attention to his stirring account of General Thackwell's brilliant achievement at Sobraon, where he ordered his cavalry to attack a heavily-entrenched position, and actually succeeded in taking it.

In regard to the illustrations, I have made a determined effort to avoid the stereotyped points of view, and to present some of the less familiar aspects of the structures. Last autumn I visited the places concerned for the purposes of this book and took the photographs which appear in these pages—excluding three of interiors at Tewkesbury, which were taken by a friend a few years earlier—they were so full of the qualities for which I was in search that I welcomed the chance of including them. The pictorial summary of English, Romanesque and Gothic architecture inside the front cover, and the series of effigies given on the back end-paper, are designed to be useful as reminders of the dates of the architectural periods and of armour and the costume of women in the Middle Ages.

GORDON HOME.

CONTENTS

CHAP.		PAGE
I.	Preliminary and Historical	13
II.	The Building of Gloucester Cathedral	25
III.	The Cathedral, Cloisters and Chapter-House of Gloucester Cathedral	45
IV.	Tewkesbury Abbey	93
V.	Deerhurst and Berkeley Churches	133
VI.	Cirencester, Northleach, Elkstone and Fairford Churches	149
	Chronology of the Building Dates and the Bishops of Gloucester	181
	Index	188

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

IN HALF-TONE

Gloucester Cathedral from the Severn about a Century ago (*Photogravure*) .		*Frontispiece*
The East Walk of the Cloisters of Gloucester Cathedral . . .	*Facing page*	35
The Tower of Gloucester Cathedral from the North	„	46
The Nave of Gloucester Cathedral .	„	53
The South Aisle of the Nave of Gloucester Cathedral	„	60
The Choir of Gloucester Cathedral .	„	69
The Effigy of Robert of Normandy in the Choir of Gloucester Cathedral .	„	71
The Lady Chapel of Gloucester Cathedral	„	74
The Tomb of Edward II. in Gloucester Cathedral	„	76
The Fan-Tracery of the Cloister Roof of Gloucester Cathedral . . .	„	83
The West Front of Tewkesbury Abbey-Church	„	94
The Nave of Tewkesbury Abbey-Church .	„	114
The Exquisite Beauchamp Chantry or "Warwick" Chapel in Tewkesbury Abbey-Church	„	127
The Tomb of Sir Hugh le Despenser in the North Choir Aisle of Tewkesbury Abbey-Church	„	128
Lord Thomas of Berkeley's Tomb in Berkeley Church	„	145
In the Cathedral-like Nave of Cirencester Church	„	147
The Old Court Room above the Great Southern Porch of Cirencester Church	„	158

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

IN LINE

	PAGE
Sketch Map of the Gloucester District	12
The Arms of the See of Gloucester	18
Effigy of Edward II. on his Tomb	31
Plan of Gloucester Cathedral	37
Effigy of Robert, Duke of Normandy	42
Gloucester Cathedral from the South-East	49
From the Triforium of Gloucester Cathedral	79
Figure of a King, probably Richard II.	82
In the Crypt of Gloucester Cathedral	85
The Monks' Lavatory in the Cloisters of Gloucester Cathedral	89
"Abbot Wakeman's Cenotaph" in Tewkesbury Abbey-Church	92
Tewkesbury Abbey-Church from the South	97
The Bell-Tower of Tewkesbury Abbey	106
The Nave of Tewkesbury Abbey	111
Pre-Norman Details of Deerhurst Priory-Church	135
The West Front of Berkeley Church	143
Brasses to William Prelatte in Cirencester Church	148
Head of a Royal Prince in a Window of Cirencester Church	150
Cirencester Church from the East	155
Brass to John Fortey in Northleach Church	162
The Norman Chancel Arch of Elkstone Church	167
Two of the Lower Lights of the Great West Window of Fairford Church	171
The West Window of the Nave of Fairford Church	175
Norman Tympanum at Quennington Church	180
The Pulpit in Northleach Church	181

CHAPTER I

PRELIMINARY AND HISTORICAL

Sketch Map of the Gloucester District

GLOUCESTER, TEWKESBURY AND DISTRICT

CHAPTER I

PRELIMINARY AND HISTORICAL

To write of the churches and abbeys of Gloucestershire renders it necessary that something should be said of the history of the region in which they lie. The valley of the lower Severn must have been one of the earliest homes of civilisation in our island, for it is one of those regions of fertility in which civilisation most readily strikes root. The eagles of Rome were planted upon the banks of the great river within a very few years after the coming of Plautius and his emperor in A.D. 43, and the Christian faith may well have come with the vanguard of the advancing legions. Of this more hereafter. What is certain is that Glevum (Gloucester) very early became a Roman station for the same reason that London so soon grew into importance — namely, that Gloucester is at the first point on the Severn where a bridge may conveniently be built.

It is thought that for some years Glevum may have

been the station of one of the most famous legions in the Roman Army—II. Augusta—which, so far as is known, remained to the last in Britain, and in all probability never left the island. But no trace of its presence at Gloucester has ever been found, and in any case it was quickly moved on to Isca Silurum (Caerleon-upon-Usk). Glevum could not, however, lose its importance as a river-crossing, and the town around the bridge grew steadily in size and prosperity. It was raised to the status of a colony by the Emperor Nerva about A.D. 97, and its population was doubtless increased by the settlement within its walls of many retired soldiers of the Second Legion and their families. It must, as Sir Charles Oman observes, have gained its distinction purely as the commercial centre of the Severn Valley, whose fertile southern slopes are more thickly strewn with the remains of Roman villas than almost any other district of Britain.

Thus Glevum grew and prospered for many generations. With the exception of Corinium (Cirencester), it was probably the most important city in the west of Britain. Corinium, whose fine church will presently come within our purview, though now no more than a small provincial town, was, about A.D. 300, the greatest city of Roman Britain except London, and it was the capital of one of the four provinces into which the Dominion of Britannia was divided. Its walls enclosed an area of 240 acres, and with its suburbs it may have had as many as 35,000 inhabitants. The region now called the county of Gloucestershire was then one of the most important parts of Roman Britain

—a fertile, well-peopled, and prosperous countryside containing two of the largest towns in the island.

It is a very difficult matter to decide whether in Roman days there was a Christian community of any size at Corinium or Glevum. All the extant evidence is in favour of the belief that the Western Roman Empire was less inclined to Christianity than the East, and that Britain, the most remote province of all, was also the least Christian. One looks in vain among the ruins of cities, camps and villas for any testimony to the existence of a large and influential Christian population. When Calleva (Silchester), the capital of the tribal-district (county, as we should say) of the Atrebates, was excavated, there was found the ground-plan of a single tiny church—about as large as an average West End drawing-room.

It seems as if the strongly conservative spirit of modern England, which has rendered its people the most solidly steady nation in history, was also characteristic of their ancestors of Roman Britain, and that when the barbarian deluge began to lap the shores of our island they were still, as a whole, stubbornly holding on to their ancient beliefs.

Bishops there were, indeed, in Britain. Three of them attended at the Church Council of Arelate (Arles) in 314; but among their towns Glevum is not named. The three British delegates presided over the sees of London, Lindum (Lincoln) and Eboracum (York). It does not, of course, follow that because no bishop of Glevum attended this synod, one did not exist. But it is perhaps suggestive that all those named above were

from Eastern Britain—as if Christianity had as yet no hold in the west. Some fifty years later there were three British bishops at the Council of Ariminum, which seems to indicate that the island dominion possessed three and only three. Not only this, but they were so poor that they were obliged to draw upon the public purse for necessary expenses. Clearly the Christian community in Britain was so small and poverty-stricken that it could not provide its accredited representatives with funds sufficient for the journey to Italy.

Glevum is never mentioned in Roman annals, but there is archæological evidence that at the end of the IVth century trouble came upon the smiling Severn Valley and its towns and villas, "gleaming white in the woodland," as a Welsh poet sang long afterwards. But still nothing is known of Glevum until 577 (more probably 582), when it at last emerges into the clear light of history in the blaze of storm and sack. Ceawlin, the greatest of the early English conquerors, met the Western Britons at Deorham, now Dyrham, north of Bath. They were led by three kings, one of them a Roman (that is a Roman Briton) named Candidianus, the other two Welsh princes, Fernvael and Cynvael, rallying in this extremity to the last remnant of the proud British Romans who, in their great days, had furnished their full quota of emperors and warriors to the Empire. Ceawlin's victory was complete; the British army was utterly overthrown; all three princes were slain; and the great Roman cities of the west—Corinium and Glevum—together with Aquæ Sulis (Bath), passed into English hands.

We thus possess, in the case of Gloucester, definite and probably accurate information regarding its fate —which is not the case with almost all the other cities of Roman Britain. It cannot be doubted that it was stormed and sacked, and whatever organised Christian institutions were established there must have perished. When next the region appears in history, it is an English state called Hwicce, ruled over by a race of chiefs—hardly kings—connected with the royal house of Northumbria. It was one of these, a certain Osric, ruling as the vassal of King Æthelred of Mercia, who in 681 laid the foundations of a double monastery for monks and nuns at Gloucester. Its first ruler was a woman, Kyneburh, the sister of Prince Osric. Osric died in 729 and was buried in the chapel of St. Petronilla, adjoining the abbey-church.

Two abbesses followed Kyneburh, and then some disaster overtook the community, for in 823 Beornwulf, King of Mercia, the third in succession from Offa the Great, found the abbey *spoliata et ruinosa*, and had to refound it as a house of secular canons. It is most probable that Gloucester was sacked during the civil war between Beornwulf and his successor Coelwulf, but it may have been stormed by the Welsh at some earlier period.

The new establishment seems to have survived for some two centuries, but it must have passed through troublous times, for in the IXth century Mercia suffered terribly at the hands of the Danes. For more than a year the whole Viking horde was camped about Gloucester, and it can hardly be supposed that they

left unplundered anything worth pillaging. But when Alfred gained his great victory at Ethandune in 878, Gloucester came under the rule of Æthelred, the husband of his remarkable daughter Æthelflaed. Presumably one of the two re-established the unlucky canonry of King Beornwulf, for it was existing in 1022, when Cnut remodelled it, replacing the disorderly secular priests by monks of the Benedictine Order.

Yet the remodelling does not seem to have been a success. The monks were apparently not much better than their predecessors, and about 1058 the buildings were destroyed by fire. They were rebuilt by Ealdred, Bishop of Worcester, afterwards Archbishop of York, and coronator of William I., who appointed as abbot a certain Wulfstan. Amid the turmoil of the Norman Conquest the monastery sank very low, and when, in 1072, Wulfstan was succeeded by Serlo, the founder of the present cathedral, there were in residence but two monks and eight novices. Serlo was a man of ability and energy, and quickly put a better face on affairs. In seventeen years he had established at Gloucester a large and flourishing monastery, and had collected funds sufficient to justify him in commencing a new church and other edifices on a sumptuous scale. Serlo was the first of the abbot-builders of Gloucester, and with him the history of the present cathedral begins. The story of the building is told in the second chapter of this book.

THE ARMS OF THE SEE OF GLOUCESTER

Crossed keys *or* on a field *azure*.

Few cities of England, except London, have a more interesting history than Gloucester. The venerable cathedral has witnessed the coming and going of many English kings, and more than one event of primary historical importance occurred in the city. Of the Old English kings, Alfred was residing there in 896; and Æthelstan the *Basileus Totius Britanniæ* (Emperor of all Britain) died there in 940. Eadgar the Peaceful, the last of the West Saxon house to maintain to the full the high traditions of his line, was at Gloucester in 965; and Eadward the Confessor also resided there. The city seems to have been a remarkable favourite with many of the Norman and Plantagenet monarchs. It was at Gloucester that William the Conqueror spent the winter of 1085–6, and set on foot the famous survey of all England, which was known as *Domesday Book*. Rufus, too, often visited the city, and it was there that he had the almost fatal illness of 1093, which so terrified him that he swore frantic oaths that nevermore would he rule England ill. Alas for human nature—

> The Deil was sick:
> The Deil a monk wad be:
> The Deil got weel:
> The Deil a monk was he!

Once out of his sick-bed the Red King sinned worse than ever, even though in his panic-stricken religiosity he had literally forced the saintly Anselm of Aosta to become Archbishop of Canterbury. It was at Gloucester that he spent his last Christmas. Henry I. also seems to have had an affection for the city, since he made his son Robert its earl. There he held the

"Wittenmoot," as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* calls it, in 1123, at which William of Curboil was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury by the bishops of England against the will of the Pope—one of the first instances of the sturdy independence of the English Church at a time when the Papacy was steadily advancing towards spiritual despotism. John almost lived at Gloucester, and it was there, amid confusion and disaster, that his youthful son Henry III. was crowned, with a simple gold ring, by Cardinal Gualo, the Papal Legate. Henry himself and his mighty son Edward I. often saw the city, and Edward II., after his horrible death at Berkeley, was buried in the abbey-church. For two centuries kings came and went, and Parliaments were held in the city by the Severn.

In 1378 a Parliament met in Gloucester, whose acts established a landmark in our constitutional history, for it demanded and obtained an account of the method in which the public accounts were kept—the beginning of Parliamentary control of the national finances. Nearly all the subsequent monarchs of England down to Elizabeth were in the city at one time or another. Henry VIII. was there twice; on the first occasion with Anne Boleyn as his queen; on the second with Jane Seymour, Anne having joined the mournful assemblage of decapitated "traitors" who lie beneath the soil of Tower Green. Elizabeth not only honoured Gloucester with her flamboyant presence, but granted it the privilege of a seaport.

In the great Civil War, Gloucester once more, and for the last time, managed to play a decisive part in

English history. It is said that the final straw which broke the camel's back of the city's loyalty was the harshness of Archbishop Laud, who had once been Dean of Gloucester. At any rate, the city was steadily and stubbornly faithful to the Parliament, and the Parliamentary cause almost depended upon it in the summer of 1643, when every Parliamentary army had either been trampled out of existence or destroyed by desertion, and, in the west, only Gloucester held out.

Its hopes of relief were slender enough, since there was no Parliamentary army left; but in the emergency the train-bands of London volunteered for field service and marched westward under Lord Essex to save Gloucester—a task which, contrary to human probability, they successfully achieved. The story of the relief is one of the oddest and most typically English in our history. On paper Gloucester was doomed. Its fortifications were weak; its governor, Colonel Edward Massey, was a soldier of fortune, who was quite as ready to serve King as Parliament, so long as he were guaranteed a respectable price. Against it the King brought eight thousand infantry, while Prince Rupert, with some six thousand cavalry, watched the roads to the eastward against the advance of a relieving force. The city, however, was resolute, and when Charles summoned it to surrender he was defied in round terms by a delegation consisting of Major Pudsey and Mr. Toby Jordan.

Meanwhile London rose to the occasion in true English fashion. That is, having neglected everything till the last moment, it blazed out into violent action

and redeemed past mistakes by one tremendous effort. The shattered army of Essex was recruited, and six regiments of London train-bands were detailed to accompany it.

Never was a stranger and more thoroughly English story than the march of London to relieve Gloucester. The army started on 23rd August—14,000 men without transport. It rained all day and every day; Rupert's horsemen harassed incessantly the line of march; there was grave shortage of supplies; the citizen soldiers suffered from dysentery and kindred complaints. Sergeant Foster, of the Red Regiment of London, has told the story of the march. The Londoners "groused" continually, after the manner of Englishmen; they yearned to fight, but they did not see why they should be hungry, and, like the French duellist who fought with his umbrella up, they objected to getting wet. But wet, cold, hungry and thirsty, grumbling at all and sundry, the Londoners came doggedly on; and on the night of 5th September the citizens of Gloucester, looking northward, saw the blaze of fires on Prestbury Hill, and heard the boom of artillery as the relieving forces fired salvoes to advertise their arrival. The Royalists fired their huts and marched off without delay, and on the morrow the Londoners came tramping into the rescued city, which had remaining in its magazines precisely three barrels of gunpowder. Without much exaggeration it may be said that London and Gloucester together had turned the tide of Royalist success in the great Civil War.

CHAPTER II

THE BUILDING OF GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL

CHAPTER II

THE BUILDING OF GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL

The story of the building of the abbey-church of Westminster is principally associated with the names of religious and art-loving kings. In the history of the building of Exeter Cathedral the names are without exception those of bishops. The record of the building of the cathedral of the Holy and Undivided Trinity at Gloucester is almost entirely one of the activities of abbots. The reason is that only since the year 1540 has the edifice been a cathedral under its present dedication: for some five centuries before it was the church of the Benedictine Abbey of St. Peter. Some of its special peculiarities are due to its monastic character.

It may be regarded as certain that no vestige of the earlier English churches of Osric and Beornwulf now survives above ground, though some of their materials may have been utilised in the later buildings, and though parts of their foundations may still exist beneath the surface in the vicinity of the cathedral. Their successor, the church built by Bishop Ealdred of Worcester, was founded on a site a little farther to

the north or north-west, astride of the Roman wall of the city.

There are great differences of opinion as to whether the present cathedral includes any part of Ealdred's church, or whether the earliest work is that of Abbot Serlo, dating back to 1089. Professor Willis, in a lecture in 1860, declared himself to be "clearly of opinion that when the foundations of the cathedral were laid, the crypt was planned to receive the existing superstructure and no other." Professor Freeman, in a lecture published in the records of Gloucester Cathedral, stated that the first certainly established fact regarding Gloucester Cathedral is the commencement of Serlo's church in 1089. He considered that Ealdred's church was built in the primitive Western Romanesque style, which had prevailed in England for over three centuries, and that, therefore, Serlo demolished it, as being quite out of keeping with magnificent Norman ideas, either in taste or scale.

Florence of Worcester, an absolutely contemporary authority, says that Serlo built his new church from the foundations.

This seems decisive, yet it is not really so. Florence may have been misinformed—though he was in the best possible position for acquiring accurate intelligence on the subject. Nor is Professor Willis's argument quite satisfactory. That the present crypt was designed to support the existing superstructure of the choir is hardly doubtful: but there is no very obvious reason against its foundation by Ealdred. If

the church of Westminster Abbey, which was certainly as fine as anything of the same age on the Continent, could be planned in 1050, it is difficult to understand why one of the dimensions of Gloucester could not have been commenced eight years later.

It is not questioned that the crypt contains work of two periods. As originally designed, it proved too weak to carry the weight imposed upon it, and was therefore strengthened. The strengthening work bears masons' marks similar to those on the masonry of the triforium in the Norman nave, while on the earlier walls these are lacking. Also the columns of the central crypt are a somewhat heterogeneous collection, quite unlike the characteristic cushion-capitalled pilasters of the strengthening work. It has, therefore, been plausibly suggested that, while the strengthening was done by Serlo, the crypt was originally built by Ealdred. Indeed, Mr. Massé [1] goes so far as to state unequivocally that the crypt is one of the five in England which date to before 1085.

Between these different opinions I find myself unable to decide. There is no absolute reason against the building of a crypt on such a scale as early as 1058. There is, however, the fact that Serlo in 1089 began to build a new church—which surely indicates that, as at Exeter and elsewhere, its predecessor was not upon a sufficiently worthy scale. There is also the fact that the crypt seems clearly to have been designed for the church which stands upon it. The masons' marks do not necessarily prove the existence of pre-

[1] *Gloucester:* Bell's Cathedral Series.

Norman work in the crypt; they only prove, according to strict interpretation of the evidence, that when the triforium of the church was being built, it became necessary to strengthen the nave. Finally, Florence of Worcester says that Serlo built the church from the foundations. With some hesitation, I should pronounce that the crypt, as it exists, is part of Serlo's design, but that the central portion may be Ealdred's plan, and that a good deal of the materials of Ealdred's building are worked up into the Norman masonry.

Serlo's church was dedicated in 1100. As far as is known, its ground-plan was that of the present cathedral, with the exception of the Lady Chapel and the south porch; but it is possible that part of the nave was not completed at this date. The church had a central tower and, apparently, two western towers on a smaller scale, flanking the front. Its fortunes were troubled; hardly had it been dedicated when a fire broke out in the chapter-house. Serlo's successor Peter completed the monastic buildings and enclosed them within a wall, which had three gates, on the south, east and west.

Peter, who before his abbacy had been prior of the monastery, was followed in 1113 by William Godeman, who presided over the community until 1130, and whose days were unhappily signalised by another great disaster. On March 7th, 1122, the monks were assembled at Mass. The deacon had just begun the Gospel of the day, *Praeteriens Jesus*, when the upper part of the "steeple" (clearly the wooden roof of the central tower) burst into flames; all efforts to prevent

the spread of the conflagration were in vain and, says the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, they "burned all the minster, and all the treasures that were there within, except a few books and three Mass hackles."

This terrible disaster, of which signs can be seen to-day on the fire-reddened piers of the nave, must have necessitated an almost complete rebuilding: probably to this period are to be dated the triforium of the nave, and the strengthening masonry of the crypt, with the distinctive masons' marks lacking in the older work. But it does not seem that the ruined central tower was restored, and some at any rate of the new work cannot have been of a very satisfactory nature, for about 1170 one of the western towers collapsed.

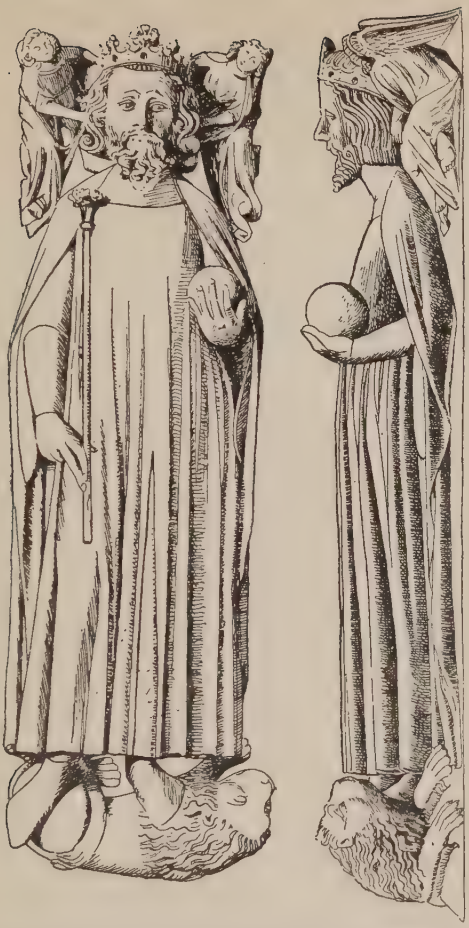
The truth is—though it is a hard thing to say—that there was a considerable amount of inferior workmanship in the Norman church. To this day it lacks the impregnable solidity of Durham and Winchester: the piers of the nave are shells of masonry filled with rubble. They were built of abnormal height—over thirty feet—in order, as it would seem, to ensure that the windows of the aisles should be carried above the cloister pent-roof.

Very little seems to have been effected either as regards building or restoration between 1170 and 1220. But early in the XIIIth century the monastery was fortunate in possessing a building enthusiast in the person of Helias of Hereford, the sacrist of Abbot Henry Blond. Possibly, also, the abbey benefited financially by the coronation of Henry III. At any rate,

in 1222 the great central tower was rebuilt, probably in the Early English style; and much decoration and refitting were carried out in the interior. Two years later the Lady Chapel was commenced and finished in 1227, by the liberality of Ralph de Wylington and his wife Olympias. Abbot Henry Foliot (1228-1243) must have completed the central tower and probably other works, for in 1239 the church was solemnly rededicated by Walter de Cantelupe, Bishop of Worcester, the famous opponent of Papal tyranny and the wrong-headedness of Henry III.

No sooner, however, had the church been rededicated than the monks became dissatisfied with it, especially with the timber ceiling of the nave. Accordingly in 1242 they took in hand the replacement of it by the present stone vaulting. This necessitated the dwarfing of the triforium, and, between this and the feeble contour of the Early English vault, the monastic architects effectually damaged the aspect of the nave. At the same time the rebuilding of the fallen south-western tower was undertaken, a new refectory begun and an infirmary built. The last must have been a very fine structure, reflecting far more credit upon the monkish builders than the indifferent vault of the nave: the surviving arcade is strong and graceful Early English work, with arches of excellent outline. The credit is presumably due in the main to Abbot John de Felda (or de la Feld), who ruled from 1243 to 1263.

Fire damaged the abbey again in 1300, and repairs proceeded but slowly till 1307, when there ascended the abbatial chair an abbot of great energy—John



EFFIGY OF EDWARD II. ON HIS TOMB IN GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL
It is obviously a portrait of the weak, ill-fated monarch.

Thokey, who not only completed the new dormitory but replaced the abbot's camera destroyed by the fire of 1300, and rebuilt the whole of the south aisle of the nave, which was on the verge of collapse. To him the cathedral owes the beautiful Decorated windows and graceful vaulting of this aisle, as well as the very fine and stately external buttresses. From the material point of view, Thokey's drastic restorations probably saved the entire nave from ruin, for the piers were and are badly out of the perpendicular, and the good abbot must have known some anxious moments before he was assured of the stability of the structure.

Indeed, one of the most remarkable phenomena about the cathedral of Gloucester is the daring displayed by its builders and restorers. They lightheartedly took the heaviest risks and plunged away at their execution of their ideas, quite reckless of the danger that the older work, with which they were tampering, might crash about their ears. Professor Willis thinks that the church was a kind of happy hunting-ground for a school of very ingenious, very fanciful, and very skilful masons, who were delighted to have so good an opportunity of displaying their craftsmanship. I incline to think that the skill which kept the nave from going over like a capsizing ship, while the south aisle was, as it were, planted against it, is something greatly to be admired.

It was in Thokey's day, also, that the times of comparative poverty and consequent economy of building and restoration came to an end. He brought the corpse of the murdered King Edward II. from Berkeley Castle

to Gloucester Abbey; and, before long, the beautiful tomb which was erected over his remains became the resort of thousands, who forgot the unhappy monarch's weakness and remembered only his fearful death at the hands of an unworthy wife and her ruffianly paramour. Gifts poured in upon the lucky abbey, and for nearly two centuries building scarcely ever ceased.

Abbot Thokey was the Moses of the new period, but, like the Israelitish leader, he died on the very threshold of the promised land. He possibly left plans which his successors executed. Abbot John of Wygmore, who followed him in 1329, took in hand the remodelling of the transepts; but I think that very little of his work survives in them. The south transept, supposed to be of his time, is, as it exists, unquestionably Perpendicular, and I find it difficult to believe that that characteristic English style was invented at Gloucester thirty years before it began to appear elsewhere. It is not absolutely impossible, but certainly most improbable. Abbot Wygmore's rule was not long—less than eight years, and it does not seem likely that within three or four years the offerings can have been so great as to enable the monastery to commence restoration on a very large scale.

Wygmore's special work was, no doubt, the great pulpitum, or double screen, between nave and choir, which has now vanished. It is probable enough that this splendid structure was inspired by Bishop de Stapeldon's lovely erection at Exeter, and it seems to have been on an even finer scale, though it can hardly have possessed the transcendent beauty of the latter. When

THE EAST WALK OF THE CLOISTERS OF GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL

The panelled fan-tracery has an extremely rich effect.

this had been completed, Abbot Wygmore may well have turned his attention to the remodelling of the transepts. But the new work in the south transept, which is attributed to him, seems to be purely Perpendicular in style, though admittedly of an early type; and the writer finds it very difficult to believe that it was designed and executed so early as 1335. The eastern bays of the choir at Wells, which were built about this time, are Decorated—though, perhaps, already with a touch of Perpendicular feeling—and the processional way is also Decorated.

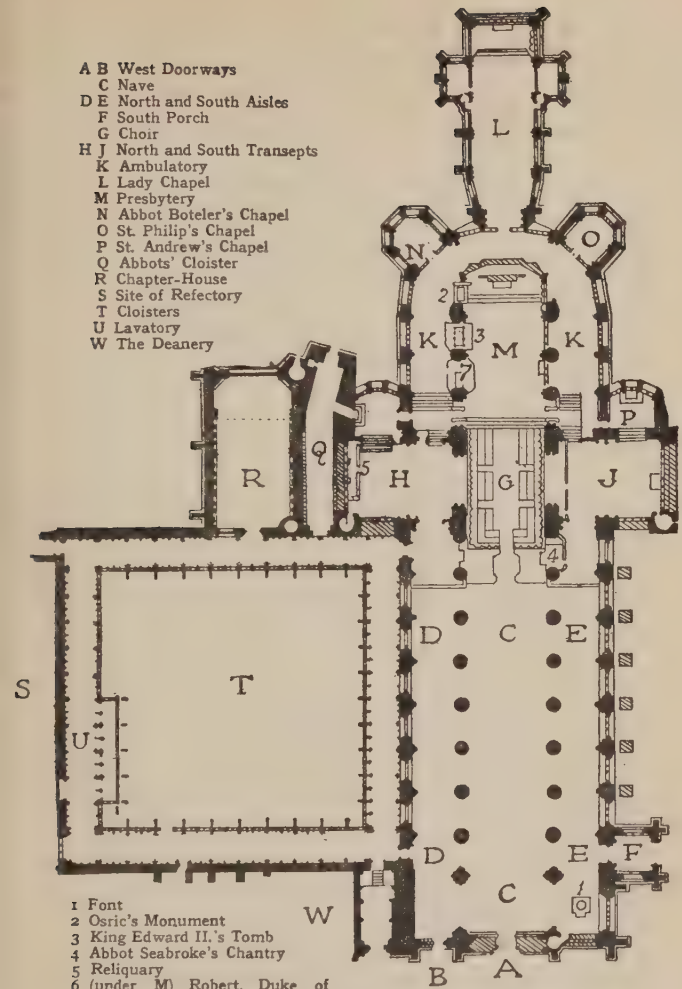
It is only in the vaulting of the choir, which is generally considered to be about 1350–1360, that Perpendicular characteristics show themselves clearly. Therefore I would suggest that Abbot Wygmore prepared the aisles for remodelling, but that the actual work was undertaken by his successors, Adam de Staunton (1337–1351) and Thomas Horton (1351–1377). In this way a date is obtained for the Perpendicular casing of the south transept of about 1350–1360—which is decidedly more probable than 1330–1335. It still leaves the south transept of the cathedral of Gloucester in possession of the honour of being the earliest Perpendicular structure in England, and does not require the student to believe that it was executed a whole generation before Perpendicular architecture began to develop elsewhere. The north transept is fully evolved Perpendicular, and is known to have been completed in 1374. It is difficult to believe that forty years elasped between it and its southern sister. An additional argument against this is that Wygmore was

buried not in this aisle, which would surely have been the case had he rebuilt it, but in the great pulpitum, which was unquestionably his work.

It is probable that Perpendicular roof-vaulting was the real beginning of the style, and that this was Wygmore's actual contribution, the wall casing being later. If so, there is to be noted an interesting fact—that Perpendicular arcades and windows were adapted to harmonise with a previously-invented style of vaulting.

What Thokey had planned, and Wygmore begun, was carried forward with zeal and success by their two successors, under whom the choir, presbytery and transepts were completely remodelled. The design of this remodelling was remarkable and unparalleled, entirely justifying Professor Willis's dictum that the master-builders of Gloucester were exceptionally gifted men. The principle of their operations may be illustrated by a simple comparison. Take an oblong box; cut an opening in the lid, and into this opening drop another box narrower and deeper than the first. This was what the abbots of St. Peter's Abbey and their master-masons did—but the box was a Romanesque church 400 feet long. The masons took extraordinary liberties—they pared down and chipped off the Norman arcades and imposed upon them their own Perpendicular entablature. The result was that Gloucester Cathedral acquired characteristics quite unlike those of any other in England.

Abbots Staunton and Horton, during the forty years of their rule, completed the transmutation of



PLAN OF GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL

the choir and transepts. Horton also made important additions to the monastic buildings, and commenced the great cloister. He was to Gloucester very much what Bishop Walter de Stapeldon had been to Exeter, spending lavishly from his own resources on the work of beautification. His known subscriptions amount to £444, a sum which, allowing for the decline in the purchasing power of money after 1350, would still equal over £5000 in value of 1913. Much of the internal fitting of the choir was also the outcome of his zeal and activity.

The brief rule of John Boyfield (1377–1381) naturally saw little building; but his successor, Walter Froucester, was one of the great figures of Gloucester's monastic history. Not only did he complete the cloisters, leaving them one of the most perfect structures of the kind in existence, but also wrote a chronicle of the abbey from Serlo's time to his own, which remains the sole authority for its history during this period of over three hundred years.

Gloucester now presented a curious and somewhat heterogeneous spectacle — Norman nave with Gothic vaulting; Perpendicular choir and transepts "dropped" into a Romanesque outer shell; the whole peculiar assemblage crowned by an Early English central tower and two Norman west towers. Abbot John Morwent evidently perceived the lack of harmony, for he began to reconstruct the nave from end to end, instead of paring away the Norman work and imposing Perpendicular upon it. He took down the western front, re-erected it in Perpendicular style, and

also rebuilt the western bay of the nave. The probability is that this portion was in an insecure condition and the restoration necessary. Leland says that it was Morwent's intention to transform the whole of the nave, but that he did not live long enough to do so. This is usually regarded as matter for congratulation, but whether it really is so may be doubted. The nave of Gloucester is not precisely inspiring or satisfactory as a composition, and Morwent's design might conceivably have given something which possessed more of both qualities. How it was proposed to carry it out is not known; it may have meant the demolition of the existing work.

Morwent also either erected or began to erect the lovely southern porch, with its strong stateliness of outline and its rich lace-like carving — "Saracenic work" as it has, not inappropriately, been described. The same skill on the part of the masons is observable here as elsewhere. There is no awkwardness in the bonding of the porch into Abbot Thokey's Decorated south aisle.

To Morwent succeeded Reginald Bouler (or Boteler), and to him Thomas Seabroke, who planned what is everywhere admitted to be the grandest feature of the cathedral—the central tower. He took down the Early English erection of Sacrist Helias, and on the Norman piers began to rear that superb structure which soars so proudly above the roofs of Gloucester. He did not live to see his magnificent conception in the being: the tower was completed in the time of his successor, Abbot Richard Hanley, under the immediate direction

of Robert Tully, a monk of the abbey, who in after-life became Bishop of St. David's. Having finished the tower, Abbot Hanley set himself to build what is often considered as the fairest gem of the church—the Lady Chapel. It was completed about 1490 by Hanley's successor, William Farley, and with it the story of the building of the church, which was presently to be a cathedral, is practically at an end. Only slight alterations were made to the fabric in after-ages, and to-day it stands almost as it was left by Abbot Farley at the end of the xvth century.

EFFIGY OF ROBERT, DUKE OF NORMANDY

In the choir of Gloucester Cathedral. The effigy may have been made a century after the unfortunate duke's death in prison.

CHAPTER III

THE CATHEDRAL, CLOISTERS AND CHAPTER-HOUSE

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The Exterior

Very few English cathedrals lack individuality, and Gloucester is no exception to the rule. Its distinctive feature is unquestionably the splendid Perpendicular tower which, from whatever direction the visitor approaches, dominates in gorgeous magnificence the closely-packed buildings of the city. Its solitude, perhaps, adds to the fascination which it inspires, for there is absolutely nothing in Gloucester to challenge it or even to act as a foil.

The splendour of the tower is so great, so overwhelming, that the observer is more or less prepared for a certain disappointment as regards the body of the cathedral. It is difficult to imagine any building quite worthy of the crown which Abbot Seabroke devised for it. But so it is, that, though from some directions and under certain conditions the great church appears to be somewhat oppressed by the grandeur of the central tower, yet on the whole it bears it worthily, and the general effect, despite the mixture of styles, is not inharmonious.

The view from the west and south-west is that to

which visitors are most accustomed; but it is not the most artistically satisfying. As a whole the impression is a fine one: the attraction of the south porch with its effective combination of delicacy and massive strength is irresistible; and, if the clerestory of the nave be ineffective, the graceful Perpendicular parapet redeems it from inanity, while the beauty of the south aisle cannot be denied. The west front in perspective, with the mystery of its deeply-recessed shadowed windows, is as commanding as it is simple. But the transformed south transept with Perpendicular windows and Norman turrets does not please; the two styles are not congruous; the transept clashes violently with the nave, and still more with the flowing lines of the superb tower. The lack of a gabled roof to the nave spoils the spring of the latter, and the short flying buttresses which are thrown against it from the parapet have less feeling than timber struts—which, indeed, they ludicrously resemble. Also from the south-west one realises that the roof-line is too low for the height of the tower.

The west front is often overlooked, which is to be deplored. There is nothing of the wealth of sculpture which is to be seen upon the western façades of Exeter and Wells; but as an architectural composition this of Gloucester is much superior to either. The design is most effective; the central portion, with its huge deeply-recessed window, severely simple porch-screen, massive turrets, and delicate cornices, leaves little to be desired; the wings are admirable, adding the necessary touch of completion and support to

THE TOWER OF GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL FROM THE NORTH
Seen through one of the arches of the ruined Infirmary.

the centre, without rivalling it as at Salisbury, or weakening it as at Exeter. There is grandeur in the splendid window-arches, mystery in their shadowed recesses. The façade has its faults of detail, but as a conception it is noble—one of the finest efforts of the Perpendicular period in England.

The view from the north-west corner of the cloister is impressive by reason of the effective grouping of the north aisle and tower. The latter seems more majestic than ever from this side, though here also the stone struts annoy and offend. The stern simplicity of the north aisle is very apparent and, curiously enough, though it clashes with the richness of the tower, it does not seem to be altogether out of harmony with the scarcely less ornate arcading of the cloister.

The favourite prospect is usually that from the south-east, from the tower of St. John's Church. From this direction the aspect of the cathedral is more harmonious than elsewhere, with the Perpendicular Lady Chapel, Perpendicular choir and Perpendicular tower rising one behind another. The Norman work of the south transept seems less incongruous when viewed from this point, and the southern chancel aisle is almost hidden from sight by trees.

On the whole, Gloucester Cathedral shows at its best from the tower of St. John's: there is a splendid grouping of gorgeous Perpendicular buildings, very little spoiled by the juxtaposition of incongruous elements; the great tower rises grandly from the crossing of choir and transepts, and the unsightly stone props are not to be seen.

Yet another view—one which is not generally known—is that from the north-east through the arcade of the ruined infirmary. The grouping of the Lady Chapel, choir, and central tower, with the chapter-house in the foreground, is effective, and the fine Early English arches athwart the outlook add their touch of mystery, especially when the light is failing.

From the south-east and north-east it is possible to peruse at leisure the details of the Perpendicular choir and the extraordinary method by which it was dropped into the box formed by the Norman aisles. The effect is very curious—perhaps more quaint than beautiful; but the beauty of the architecture, especially the outline of the tall clerestory windows, is not to be denied. The Lady Chapel is surveyed under no such disadvantage as is the choir, but its external inferiority as an architectural whole is pronounced; the outline of the windows is hard and the openings themselves are too tall for perfect dignity.

But from whichever point the visitor may choose to survey the great church, his attention must be always attracted and held by the tower. As a triumph of Perpendicular Gothic, it is in the writer's judgment excelled only by the Angel Tower of Canterbury—and, doubtless, there are good judges who consider it without a rival. Despite the almost fairy-like delicacy of its open-work battlements and pinnacles, the majesty of the building is even more evident than its beauty. The diminishing buttresses at the angles are not perhaps absolutely happy in their effect: the perfect combination of massiveness and beauty given by the

GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL

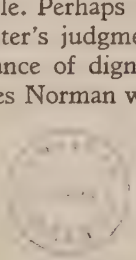
Viewed from the south-east, showing the harmonious grouping of the stately Perpendicular tower with the choir.

Drawn by Herbert Railton.

bold angle turrets of Canterbury's crowning glory is not to be found at Gloucester. Yet in delicacy of decoration the tower of Gloucester is almost superior to its sister; and the most severe of critics will find it difficult to deny that as a whole it has hardly a rival throughout this country.

The Interior

Entering by the south porch the visitor is in the Nave—that part of the cathedral wherein the contrast between the characteristics of the early church and those of its many remodellings is most marked. The view to the eastward is limited by the modern screen, crowned by the organ, which has replaced Abbot Wygmore's XIVth-century erection. At the west end is a Perpendicular bay of excellent outline, followed by one which is a strange hybrid of Norman and Perpendicular. Thence to the crossing of the transepts there are seven bays of Norman style, of a type which is almost impossible to define as Middle or Late, the arches being enriched, while piers and capitals are severely plain. The piers are unusually lofty, rising as they do almost thirty feet from the present pavement. Indeed, they are too lofty for perfect dignity, since they are not solid, but composed of a built casing filled with rubble. Perhaps the knowledge of this fact affected the writer's judgment, but to him they have not the appearance of dignified strength which as a rule distinguishes Norman work. To attain this, a pier



constructed of small stones must possess great bulk, and the built columns of the nave of Gloucester, with their small stones, great height and comparatively small diameter, give an impression of weakness.

Above the high arcades, with their tall narrow openings, is a dwarf triforium, so shallow indeed that it is no more than a deep frieze. It is not the original one, which was ruthlessly cut down and mutilated by Abbot Foliot's monk-masons in the middle of the XIIIth century. The work which they thus unwisely restored seems to have been far finer in detail and design.

Above the triforium is the feeble and uninspiring Early English clerestory. No more can justly be said of it, or of the vaulting of the nave, which dates from the same period. The corbels between the bays, from which the ribs of the vault spring, are not unpleasing in themselves, but they display no imagination, and instead of springing boldly and gracefully from the capitals of the piers, they project awkwardly from the spandrels of the arches. The vault itself is disappointing; the curves of the ribs are too shallow; they lack opulence and grace; and the feeling of the whole is poor. An exception must be made in the case of the quaint and grotesque heads which form the bases of the corbels. They cannot redeem the faulty design, but in themselves are delightful; and they afford proof that imagination was not lacking to Foliot's monastic masons—if only it had been allowed fair scope.

The Aisles are much more satisfactory to view than the nave. That on the north side is, on the whole, the

THE NAVE OF GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL

Showing the massive Norman columns of the arcades, and beyond the organ and screen the airy lightness of the Perpendicular choir.

work of Abbot Serlo and his immediate successors; it shows architecture more fully developed than in the nave itself. The pilasters are almost Transitional in type and the capitals enriched, as are the ribs of the Norman vault. The window openings are also of excellent contour, and their enrichment at once ornate and chaste. The one defect is that the windows have been filled with Late Perpendicular tracery, not very good of its kind and utterly out of sympathy with the rounded arches bequeathed by Imperial Rome.

The south aisle is still more pleasing than its northern sister. It is the only considerable piece of Decorated Gothic in the building, and though appearing to better advantage from outside, it shows very well within, except for the unavoidable clash between the Decorated pilasters and the Norman piers opposite them. The curve of the vault is perchance a trifle skimpy, but it is at any rate better than that of the nave; finally, the windows being pointed, there is no such lack of harmony as offends the feelings with those of the northern aisle.

On the whole, the nave of Gloucester Cathedral is hardly in the first rank. Its defects are patent, and even in the aisles there is considerable incongruity. It is perhaps best to survey it in the twilight, when details are lost; when the poor monkish vaulting does not annoy; when one only obtains impressions of massive soaring columns and shadowed mysterious arcades and roof.

The monuments are numerous, but as a whole not especially interesting. Many of them are to local

worthies, and consequently cannot be said to attract the visitor of historical tastes. At the west end is, very properly, a statue to Edward Jenner (1749–1823), the famous introducer of vaccination, who was born and died at Berkeley, which, for practical purposes, is almost a suburb of Gloucester. One cannot here enter into discussion upon the merits and demerits of Jenner, much less upon the question of the precise value of vaccination. Facts and figures appear to furnish fairly decisive evidence—though, doubtless, something must be attributed to improved sanitation and habits of life—and surely it is not necessary to suppose that almost the entire body of the medical profession is actuated only by motives of self-interest in adopting and practising it. Jenner must, in any case, be placed among the benefactors of mankind—probably in their front rank. That he obtained little recognition in his lifetime, and was not a very successful business man, are facts which do not affect the main question.

Beneath the west window of the south aisle is a XVIIth-century tablet commemorating John Jones, M.P. for Gloucester in the first Parliament of James I., which was to have been blown up by the mines of those who hatched the "Gunpowder Treason." Jones was registrar to no less than eight bishops of Gloucester; and his tablet, perhaps designed by himself, aptly depicts files of documents.

More interesting in every respect, except that of art, is the tomb of Sir George Onesiphorus Paul, one of the first and not the least distinguished of English prison reformers. The reformed gaol which he suc-

ceeded in establishing at Gloucester was an enormous advance on anything which had hitherto been seen; it had two infirmaries, a dispensary, and special workrooms for debtors, who kept two-thirds of their earnings, while one-third was appropriated for the settlement of their obligations. Paul, like his contemporary Howard, was more than half a century in advance of his times. He was a friend of Scott, and accompanied him to the Hebrides in 1810, on which occasion the poet described him as

> Sir George Paul, for prison-house renowned,
> A wandering knight on high adventure bound.

The verse halts: I fear that it must have been penned after one of those jovial dinners in which Scott delighted so much. Perhaps he had a "fair tappit-hen under his belt" when he adjourned from table to dispose of his correspondence.

Not far away is a new memorial tablet to Sir Hubert Parry, the musical composer.

At the west end of the north aisle is the monument to that queer and paradoxical mixture of learning, arrogance, ferocity and benevolence, William Warburton, the editor of Pope's works, who was, by the grace of Pitt and the pushing of Ralph Allen, Bishop—a very second-rate political type of bishop—of Gloucester for twenty years (1759–1779). The monument was erected by his widow, and the epitaph was written by his friend and worshipper Hurd. It is too long to transcribe here, for Warburton, with many good qualities, was not precisely a great figure, either as ecclesiastic or writer,

but one line may be noted—that in which Hurd says that his hero always supported "what he firmly believed, the Christian religion." This was read without the comma, and accordingly some unkindly critics started a theory that this peer of the Church was a sceptic. Certainly he was a very average bishop, but on several occasions showed himself to be a tolerable professing Christian, and at any rate raised his voice against the iniquities of the slave trade.

Next to Warburton's monument is one which is really a discredit and an eyesore. It is an immense and deliberately ugly tablet covering I should be sorry to say how many square yards, a Sahara of aridity and bad taste, with an epitaph of fearful and wonderful length and pomposity—all this to perpetuate the memory of an absolutely insignificant local doctor of medicine. If the writer alone erected tablets of this size to the medical men of his acquaintance who have been skilful, kindly and courteous, he could cover half the walls of Gloucester nave. The discredit is not to the—doubtless—worthy person to whom this monstrosity was erected, but to those who gave it, and those who permitted it to disfigure the cathedral and, incidentally, render them the laughing-stock of all men of taste and sense.

The next monument to be noted is in one sense the most remarkable in the cathedral. It is badly out of place in a mediæval church, but it is really beautiful, one of the most tender and graceful conceptions of a great artist—John Flaxman. It is to the memory of Sarah Morley, a young mother who died in child-

birth at sea in 1784. Flaxman was then only twenty-nine years of age, but the monument shows him at his best—quite his best, for it is notorious that he was not altogether equal to the perfect sculpture in marble of the beautiful models which he designed.

The ruling idea of the tablet is perhaps a little trite, but this is forgotten in contemplating the beauty and grace of the figures in relief. The mother rising heavenward from her death-bed, with her babe upon her arm, is received by two descending angels, while a third angel ascends with her and points the way. The general effect is perhaps more pictorial than sculpturesque, but with that reservation it is difficult to find fault. The balance is perfect; the figures float beautifully in mid-air: the angels may not, perchance, be very supernatural, but they are graceful and gracious incarnations of the gentler human feelings. Looking at the monument as a whole, it is quite easy to understand how it was that Flaxman was loved as well as admired; gentleness and humanity almost breathe from every one of the four principal figures.

The last monument worthy of mention is that of Alderman Machen, thrice Mayor of Gloucester, one of those town-magnates who played so large a part in the stirring times of Queen Elizabeth. He died in 1614 and was followed a year later by his widow, who is commemorated with him on the tomb, together with their large family of seven sons and six daughters.

The windows of the aisles are all filled with stained glass, and the third and fifth on the north side retain

some of their ancient glazing, as do those of the clerestory. The rest is modern, and hardly deserves special mention. Most of the glazing is for "memorial" purposes, and unfortunately there is no harmonised scheme, so that there is considerable confusion. The Jenner window at the west end of the south aisle appropriately depicts miracles of healing and resuscitation; and the fourth on the south side has some interest, owing to the historical episode represented thereupon —the coronation of the boy-king Henry III. in the cathedral in 1216 by Cardinal Gualo and Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester, supported by Hubert de Burgh, the famous Justiciary, and Jocelin, Bishop of Bath. Apart from this, the window is somewhat of a jumble of colour. The sixth window on the north side commemorates Bishop Hooper, who was martyred during the Marian persecution. One would not willingly carp at a memorial to a man who died bravely for his opinions, but there is surely something ironic in the erection of this richly-coloured window to a man who was a fanatical destroyer of works of ecclesiastical art, and probably not even an English Catholic at heart.

The great west window is filled with modern stained glass, commemorating the virtues and services of Dr. Monk, Bishop of Gloucester from 1830 to 1856.

In the south aisle within the gate which separates the greater part of it from its last bay and the transept are two famous monuments. On the left is the chantry tomb of Abbot Thomas Seabroke (1450–57). It is a slightly rigid Perpendicular edifice, rather plain,

but still showing traces of its original brilliant colour-scheme. The effigy on the tomb is of alabaster: it shows Seabroke in full canonicals with his pastoral staff at his right side.

Nearly opposite is a recessed monument of far greater interest. Architecturally it is no more remarkable than scores of others, but the effigies are intriguing. They are of a baron and his lady, he in armour of mail and plate, she with flowing hair, and both wearing collars of SS. (=souverain). Names are wanting, and the figures must be dated and identified by the help of their dress. They were supposed to be those of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford (died 1361), and his wife. But the SS. collar is not heard of before about 1400, and the knight wears as part of his armour a tippet of mail, which went out of fashion about 1418–20. It is thought that the worn badge on the belt is that of the Brydges family—later Dukes of Chandos—and on the whole it is probable—but not certain—that the tomb may be that of Sir Thomas Brydges (died 1407).

The Screen—properly the *pulpitum* or platform—which separates the nave from the choir, was erected in 1820 by Bishop Griffiths. The best which can be said of it is that it is in itself not inartistic or unsightly, and that it is at any rate immensely more appropriate than the nondescript xviiith-century structure which it superseded. But it is too high in proportion to its breadth, and is probably a very poor successor to the splendid *pulpitum* of Abbot Wygmore.

Upon it stands the fine Organ, built by Thomas

Harris, the father of the more celebrated René ("Renatus"), in 1663–65, and repaired twenty years later by the still more famous Bernhard Schmidt. The case is a handsome piece of work for its time, and the heraldic decorations, executed by the Restoration artist, Campion, are pleasing. The organ was twice enlarged by Willis during the XIXth century. Originally it comprised a great organ, a choir organ, a pedal organ and couplers. A swell organ was added in 1847 and a solo organ in 1898. In all there are forty-five stops.

The organ at the time of its completion stood in the south transept, and was only placed in its present position in 1820 by Bishop Griffiths, who unquestionably, apart from considerations of effect, displayed in his action correct antiquarian spirit, since the *pulpitum* is the traditional situation. In point of fact the pictorial effect is by no means unpleasing. The massive oaken structure is dignified in itself, and does not appear ill-matched with the sternness of the nave, especially in a half-light, while the view past it into the choir, with glimpses of the great east window and the gorgeous vaulting, gains rather than loses by the interposition of the organ.

THE SOUTH TRANSEPT is usually considered to be the transformation effected by Abbot Wygmore, but it is a little difficult to believe that it is really so early. In any case it is exceptionally interesting, as being the commencement of the peculiar "dropping" of a Perpendicular box into a Norman case, which is the salient feature of the architecture of Gloucester. Here,

THE SOUTH AISLE OF THE NAVE OF GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL

The slenderness of the Perpendicular tracery appears in very great contrast to the ponderous Norman piers. It was possibly in the south transept into which one is looking that Perpendicular Gothic first appeared.

as in the choir and the north transept, the best impression of this unique imposition of one style upon another is to be obtained in the triforium, where the paring down of the Norman masonry and the fitting to it of the Perpendicular sheath may be studied at close quarters. The casing consists of mullions and transoms forming a kind of cagework of open panels which are filled with foliated headings and elaborate tracery. The vault, the crown of which is eighty-six feet from the pavement, is of an early "lierne" type, *i.e.* with short cross-ribs connecting the main ones. There are no bosses at the joints. The mullions do not reach right up to the roof: the mouldings are rounded. There is a powerful Perpendicular feeling about the transept—yet these are features which are hardly characteristic of that style. The problem has been mentioned in the previous chapter. If the architecture be really of the time of Abbot Wygmore, *then it cannot be doubted that in this south transept of Gloucester Cathedral the Perpendicular Gothic style was born.*

On the north side, between the great piers of the central tower, is a small Late Perpendicular chapel, said to be that of St. John the Baptist, dedicated by Abbot John Newton or Browne (1510–1514). The wood panelling is ornamented with a crowned monogram S.B. Beneath the threshold was buried the monkish artist, John Lyon, who wrought the reredos of this little shrine. The cross and epitaph upon the slab have almost disappeared. The latter was a quaint mingling of Greek and Latin, reminding the historian that, to this day, the Western Churches still retain

the Greek invocation of the ages when the Christian faith was yet one and undivided. It runs:

Kyrie eleison anime
Fratris Johis Lyon.

From the point of view of grammar the couplet is as barbarously illiterate as the Franco-Latin legal jargon of the XVIth and XVIIth centuries.

Many of the ancient tiles appear in the paving in and around the chapel. Some bear the name of W. Farlei (Abbot William Farley, 1472–1498); others are decorated with rampant lions, oak-leaves, and fleur-de-lys.

There were two doorways in this transept. Both are in the southern wall. One is now built up. It is surmounted by the sculptural semblance of an extraordinary double-bodied creature. The other is usually called "The Pilgrims' Door," and has an ornate and unusual archway decorated with reclining angels of masterly and charming artistry. This is sometimes thought to have been a vestry door, but there are no traces of such a building at this point. To me it seems that the theory of a pilgrims' door is feasible: it is possible that those who came to pray at the shrine of Edward II. entered by the monster-crowned door, and left by that which was guarded by the angels.

From the east side of the transept opens the CHAPEL OF ST. ANDREW, which has been restored and decorated with frescoes, executed in 1866–67 by Mr. Gambier Parry, an artist who did much work at Tewkesbury. It is paved with hard modern copies of the ancient

tiles of which so many remain in the cathedral. The chapel, too, is spoiled by the passage through it of one of the great buttresses which support the piers of the tower.

Beside the chapel is the "'Prentice's Bracket." It is a mason's square supporting the figure of an apprentice with, as supporter, another representing a master-mason.

In this part of the cathedral there are two monuments, neither especially noteworthy. One is to Richard Pates, the founder of Cheltenham Grammar School, and was erected in 1588. The other is a fairly good Jacobean monument to an Alderman Blackleech and his wife, and dates from 1639. Blackleech is shown in full dress of the period, and it is for this that the erection is principally interesting.

The windows are for the most part filled with modern stained glass, but the eastern opening, over St. Andrew's Chapel contains some of the original XIVth-century glazing. That in the head is especially noteworthy for the deep ruby tint of what may be called the ground, upon which is a white scrollwork of leaves.

THE AMBULATORIES OF THE CHOIR are usually entered from the south transept, through an open Perpendicular screen pierced by twin-gateways. Passing beneath them the visitor finds himself in what is certainly one of the most curious galleries in existence —Norman walls pierced by Perpendicular windows on the right, plain and massive Norman vaulting above, and Norman piers and arcade on the left, with Perpen-

dicular screening built up against them on the farther side. The apsidal chapels are also Norman, but are separated from the ambulatory by Perpendicular screens. The general effect is curious; the feeling of the whole is so thoroughly Romanesque, while at every step a glance to the left shows the towering Perpendicular casing walls of the choir looking down upon the low Norman gallery.

The north-eastern chapel goes by the name of Abbot Boteler (1437-1450), afterwards Bishop of Hereford and Lichfield in succession. It is separated from the ambulatory by a rather stiff and uninspiring Perpendicular screen; but the reredos and piscina are in great measure as they were left by the xvth-century artists, and deserve more than a passing glance, while the original flooring of tiles is still *in situ*. Here, for a long time, was deposited the effigy of Duke Robert of Normandy, but it has now been removed to the choir over the traditional place of the unlucky prince's sepulture.

Before taking note of the ambulatories, the unique construction of the eastern portion of the cathedral should be studied. The dropping of the Perpendicular box into the Norman case has already received comment, but it is only now that the details can be considered. The box stands upon the central part of the crypt—the nave, as it may be called. Round three sides of the crypt nave runs a vaulted gallery or subterranean ambulatory. Upon this stands the ambulatory of the choir, and on this again a wide triforium corresponding to the galleries beneath. In a word, the "case" of the

"box" consists of a double range of vaulted corridors, each of which has its subsidiary chapels—above as well as below. The only respect in which the triforium differs from the ambulatories of the crypt and the choir is that it has a lean-to vault supported upon half-arches which spring from plain square piers on the outer side. In the possession of these triple galleries Gloucester Cathedral holds an unique place among English churches.

Apart from their architecture there is nothing of special interest in the ambulatories. The monuments and windows are all modern, and only two of them are to the memory of persons who made any mark. In the south ambulatory is a brass commemorating a man to whom all students of the cathedral owe much —the Rev. H. Haines, one of the masters of the cathedral school, who wrote a book upon the church which is still of great value. The other is in the north ambulatory and takes the form of a window to Lieutenant-General Sir Joseph Thackwell, who, as commander of the cavalry under Lord Gough, took a distinguished share in the conquest of the Punjab in 1845–1849. His most brilliant service was at Sobraon on February 10th, 1845. The Sikhs were posted on both banks of the Sutlej—nearly 30,000 infantry with seventy guns in a heavily-entrenched camp on the south bank, which was connected by a pontoon bridge with the northern one, on which were more infantry and 10,000 cavalry. Their leaders had committed a gigantic blunder in taking position across the river on the same side as the British; but they might have held their ground

had not General Gough advanced to attack before their powerful entrenchments were completed. After a preparatory bombardment of two hours, the British infantry—only about one-third of them Europeans—advanced to the storm. Dick's Division on the left, in advance, was to attack where the entrenchments were half-finished; Gilbert's was in the centre, with Thackwell's horsemen in reserve; Sir Harry Smith's on the right. The plan did not work very smoothly, however, and Dick's Division was at first repulsed, so that the other two had to be sent forward to relieve the pressure. In other words, General Gough was forced by circumstances into doing what he had not intended, and making a frontal attack upon the strongest part of the Sikh line, where the defenders also were in the highest mood of fanatic bravery, directed and animated by the aged Shám Singh Atáriwala, the one Sikh general who made for himself, though in death, an immortal name.

Three times Gilbert's men were thrust back from the high field ramparts flaming with the fire of the Sikh guns and muskets, though each time they held on long enough for the pioneers to tear down sand-bags and fascines and open up narrow breaches. Just so did Smith's soldiers fare on the right: they were brought to a stand at the ramparts by a tremendous fire against which it seemed impossible to hold firm. The entire attack had in fact come to a stand when Thackwell's squadrons came riding up in support of Smith's wavering lines. For cavalry to attack entrenched infantry is a thing almost unheard of in war. Napo-

leon's cavalry plumed themselves on something of the kind at Borodino in 1812; but the truth is that the so-called Russian entrenchments were mere earth-heaps over which a cow could scramble—quite apart from the fact that the battery in question was actually charged in the rear, where there was no obstacle to the horsemen.

Here the situation was entirely different. There was a continuous line of high earthworks with only a few very strait gaps, which had been blasted by the guns or opened by the sappers. But if odds had been counted, our Indian Empire would have never been won, and Sir Joseph Thackwell coolly surveyed the position and made his daring bid for victory. He ordered his horsemen to ride up to the frowning entrenchments and break through—and they did it! They went for the gaps, rode through in single file, formed inside and charged the Sikh gunners in the rear. The leading regiment was the famous 3rd Light Dragoons, who had already covered themselves with glory in the war, and on that day set the crown upon their reputation. A more hazardous feat of arms was never essayed, and to Thackwell the credit is justly due. As his commander-in-chief declared, he is entitled to the rare commendation of having effected much with a cavalry force in a storm of field-works.

The stroke was admirably timed, for it was delivered just as Dick's rallied division had at last broken into the Sikh left; and as the fire in their front weakened, Gilbert's and Smith's regiments stormed forward once more, and this time successfully. The result was

a complete and very murderous British victory. The Sikhs, forced away from their protective entrenchments, were driven steadily back upon the river, still fighting with remarkable courage and in good order, with Shám Singh Atáriwala, clothed in white as a sign that he had devoted himself to death, in their foremost ranks. The end came at last. The British horse-artillery was advancing with the infantry, and under the terrible fire which was poured into their retreating masses, the brave Singhs finally broke and fled to the river, leaving their brave old general dead, as he desired, among the heaps of his fallen warriors. The bridge parted under the weight of the fugitives, and the loss of life was fearful. It is said that nearly 10,000 men were killed and drowned, while of some 15,000 British troops actually engaged, 2400 were dead or wounded.

The name of Sir Joseph Thackwell seems to be forgotten, and probably few of those who glance at the window reflect that eighty years ago the fate of our Indian Empire perhaps depended upon the decision made under fire by this modest general of cavalry.

By the door leading into the north transept is a stone reading-desk, perhaps the very one from which the monastic preachers delivered sermons on the text of fallen greatness to the pilgrims who went to pray at the shrine of the ill-fated Edward II.

The North Transept, into which the visitor passes on leaving the ambulatory, is, like that on the south, composed of Perpendicular casing imposed upon the Norman walls, but it is of a decidedly more advanced type, and the vaulting is much richer, approximating

THE CHOIR OF GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL

The huge Perpendicular east window fills the entire width of the east end.

to that of the cloisters. The door which leads from it into the ambulatory is a square-headed opening, apparently very Late Perpendicular. It is the burial-place of Abbots Horton, Boyfield, and Froucester, but only that of the last can be distinguished by the almost obliterated outline of a mitre. Froucester was the first "mitred" Abbot of Gloucester. Windows and monuments are not remarkable, the former being modern and none particularly beautiful. A glance may be spared for the painted tablet (1615) of John Bower and his wife with their sixteen children in perspective.

The south side of this aisle is formed by the little Chapel of St. Anthony, one side of which is bounded by the rear of the choir stalls, which show almost indistinguishable traces of painting. One portion is tolerably plain; it represents a woman at the mouth of hell praying to St. Anthony, who carries a bell and is accompanied by his pig. I suppose that this pleasant work of monkish art was intended as a warning to light ladies. On the opposite side of the transept is a peculiarly charming Early English erection with three foliated arches, believed to have been a reliquary.

The eastern chapel of this transept is dedicated to St. Paul and is more or less similar to that of St. Andrew across the choir. It is entered by a Perpendicular doorway, within the spandrels of which are the letters T.C.

From the ambulatory the visitor enters the magnificent Choir, the great glory of Gloucester as far as the interior is concerned, and beyond question a most splendid and effective work of Perpendicular Gothic

art. The only jarring note is struck by the curious double pilasters uniting into one at the crossing of the transepts; they are most unpleasant and bizarre; if the feeling be not that of a pair of commonplace water-pipes, it is worse, for it is flatly reptilian. This feature introduced by the remodellers of the cathedral was not a happy one.

But with this exception, only those who are prejudiced against the style will fail to perceive that the choir of Gloucester is an admirable conception. The effect of height and space is powerful. Lack of height cannot be urged as a defect of the building, since it rises nearly ninety feet to the crown of the vault. There is strength as well as lightness in the appearance of the pilasters, and majesty in their clean rise of nearly seventy feet without a break. The lines of the "screening" or casing are perhaps a little hard, but this is forgotten in the beauty of the details. The gigantic east window—in simple truth an east front of tracery and glass—is in perfect keeping with the sides of the edifice, and over all broods in shadow the gorgeous roof. It is quite true that the elaboration of the latter gives, in certain lights, an impression lacking in repose, but that it is a superb specimen of its class is not to be denied.

The stalls of the choir were largely restored in 1873 by Sir Gilbert Scott, but retain very much of their ancient woodwork, and there is something very impressive in the sternly horizontal lines formed by the cornice of the three-sided range of carven seats and fretted canopies. Tapering pinnacles and tabernacles would really have been out of place in Gloucester's

THE EFFIGY OF ROBERT OF NORMANDY IN THE CHOIR OF GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL

The effigy of William the Conqueror's eldest son is carved in bog-oak, and is in a very good state of preservation.

choir. The misereres are many and quaint, but here also there has been considerable restoration.

The ruins of the ancient high-altar were laid bare in 1873, and on it Sir Gilbert Scott erected the present reredos. It is an excellent work by that enthusiastic "Gothizer" and Redfern, and therewith almost everything has been said. There are three imitative Decorated niches with four smaller ones between, and on the flanks filled with sculptured groups and figures. There is much colour and glitter, and the effect may be gorgeous, but to the writer these modern reredoses with their relief sculpture are simply out of place. This of Gloucester is out of keeping with almost everything in the ancient choir.

Beside the altar are four sedilia. They have been so much restored that little of the ancient work remains; and the niches have been filled with thirteen figures, sculptured by Redfern, representing various abbots of Gloucester. The effect is fairly pleasing so long as one does not press too closely and realise that the mediæval spirit has departed—not so the modern paving of the choir, composed of hard copies of ancient tiles, and marble slabs inlaid with a sort of sketching in black cement. It is a relief to turn from this to study the remnants of the ancient tile pavement near the altar. Some date back to the XIIIth century. Among them are many decorated with the armorial bearings of abbots, nobles, and at least two kings—Richard, King of Germany, brother of Henry III., and Edward the Confessor—as well as scores bearing a crowned M. for the Virgin Mary.

Behind the reredos towers the vast east window—the largest in England. As aforesaid, it is really a front of tracery and glazing, elliptical in plan, so that the window is actually five feet wider than the choir itself. This is quite evident when viewing it from the top of the screen or the ambulatories, the horizontal lines appearing to be slightly elliptical.

In design it is simple and effective: the one apparent defect being that there are too many stages in the lower portion, so that those above look higher than those below. The defect is apparent, for on looking more closely it is seen that the line of the gallery behind the window dwarfs one arcade. The vast glazed opening consists of three great divisions separated by the characteristic Perpendicular mullions: the central division has six lights in three bays, and each wing four lights in two bays—that is, fourteen lights grouped in seven bays.

The subject depicted is the Coronation of the Virgin, at which attends a company of saints and angels filling the greater part of the window. The second stage above the reredos has its glass painted with heraldic shields, and Mr. Winston, who described the window in Volume XX. of the *Archæological Journal*, thinks that they afford a clue to the date of the window, which he fixes at about 1350. The glass is admirable; the blues and reds unsurpassed in value and variety; the white extremely beautiful in its silvery tint; the figures, on the other hand, are stiff, dry in treatment, and poorly drawn. But when standing at a distance and watching the play of light through the many-hued

panes, the appearance of the immense opening is most impressive.

In the centre of the choir, resting upon a painted panelled chest, decorated with armorial shields, is the effigy, carved in bog-oak, of Robert of Normandy, the eldest son of William the Conqueror, another example of the rule that great men rarely beget first-born sons worthy of them. Of the Conqueror's children, the eldest possessed only his father's personal courage and little else; the second—William the Red—had vigour and bravery without his moral strength; only the third lived to be a good administrator and a successful statesman.

Of Robert, the bitter description of Reuben by his father Israel may serve. Unstable as water, he could not excel, and a life of strange adventure and vicissitude ended in twenty-eight years of ignoble and hopeless—though, it would seem, easy, perhaps splendid—captivity. That Robert was buried in the abbey-church of Gloucester is certain, and Leland says that his tomb, surmounted by this figure, was in the middle of the presbytery, but there is an inscription indicating that he really lies in the chapter-house. My suggestion is that his original grave was in the latter place, but that his body was removed to the church by Abbot Foliot about 1239, or a little earlier. Leland says that the effigy was made long after Robert's death, but does not give any authority for accurate dating. But the style of the armour is certainly that of the first half of the XIIIth century, so that the theory seems worthy of consideration. The chest is certainly very

much later than the figure—perhaps it is of the early XIVth century.

At the right hand of the altar, as is fitting, is a Perpendicular canopied tomb bearing the name, and believed to cover the remains, of Osric the sub-king of the Hwiccas, who founded the first abbey in 681. There is no doubt that the erection is a tomb and not a cenotaph, for the bones of a man have been found in it, but whether they are those of this obscure kinglet is another matter. The erection in its present condition is the work of Abbot Parker (1514–1539), for the canopy bears his arms, but the effigy may be an older one restored. Since the massive Norman piers were cut away to receive the tomb, and on the cuttings appear the white hart crowned, the well-known device of Richard II., there is some reason to believe that it was actually erected in his reign. The effigy shows Osric as the crowned king of Northumbria — a theory scarcely tenable — holding in his left hand the model of a church.

Next to the tomb of Osric is that of the unhappy King Edward II., murdered at Berkeley Castle in 1327. Into the miserable tragedy there is little need to enter. Edward of Caernarvon was another example of the rule that monarchs of commanding character and ability scarcely ever leave sons worthy of their fame. The exceptions are astonishingly few; most of those with which I am acquainted occur in Byzantine history, when over and over again an imperial line would keep up a remarkable succession of able and vigorous men. With our own Plantagenets there

THE LADY CHAPEL OF GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL
Seen through the opening in the screen.

was much of this, but the line of strong men was strangely punctuated with weaklings. The first three kings were all intensely vigorous, whether for good or evil, but after them came the feeble, if amiable, æsthete, Henry III. The son of Henry was the greatest of all English kings, but the greatness of Edward I. had as its heir only the womanish Edward II., a sort of reflection of his grandfather, doomed to twenty years of inefficiency and misfortune, disaster and disgrace. Let it be said that the unhappy man was no less sinned against than sinning, and at least as unlucky as ill-advised. The most faithful of his adherents died early in his reign: his cousin, Thomas of Lancaster, was practically a rival king. He was surrounded by selfish favourites and treacherous barons: his wife was perhaps untrue to him long before her intrigue with Roger Mortimer. But it is also true that the weak, pleasure-loving monarch was not capable of standing by ministers like Walter de Stapeldon, who served him well and endeavoured to save him from himself. But if Edward were pitiable, those who overthrew and murdered him were, with hardly an exception, bad and contemptible in the extreme.

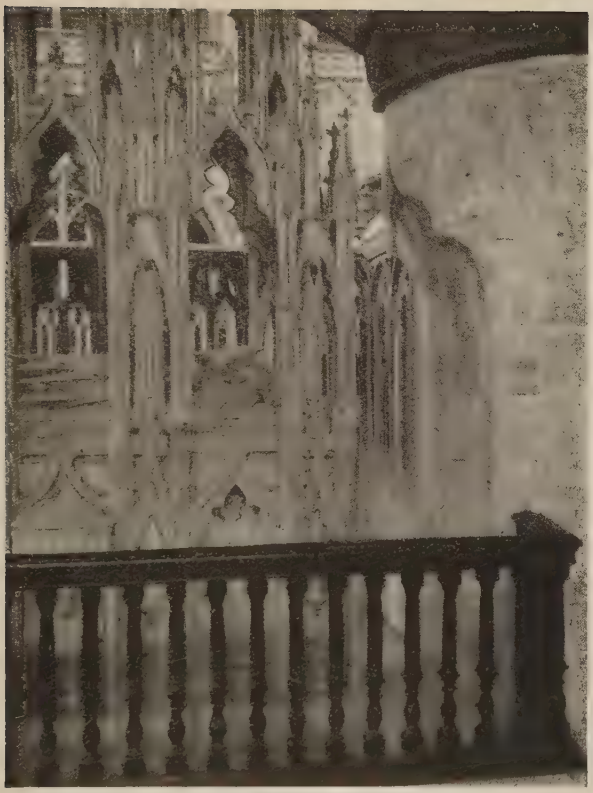
It was a strange fate which made Edward II. a martyr, and in the popular estimation a saint; yet he was probably quite as worthy of either of those titles as Charles I.—possibly more so. At all events the kindly English nature ended by forgetting Bannockburn and remembering only Berkeley, and both the beautiful tomb and the glorious choir which rise above the

remains of Edward of Caernarvon were built with offerings made at his shrine.

The tomb itself has been much restored, but there is no question of the beauty of the Decorated tabernacle work. Its outline is not of the best, being "cribbed, cabined, and confined" by the lowness of the arch beneath which it was erected, and its effect is perhaps gorgeous rather than graceful. In beauty it hardly compares with the lovely tomb of Hugh le Despenser at Tewkesbury. The alabaster effigy of the murdered king seems to be the earliest of its kind in the country; it is usually supposed that the face is a portrait, but the hand of the restorer during six hundred years has rendered the determination of that question impossible.

Next to the royal tomb is the chantry of William Parker or Malverne, the last Abbot of Gloucester. It is Late Perpendicular in style and somewhat stiff in design, but the sculpture of vines and grapes on the screen is very delicate and charming. The abbot was not buried in the tomb which he had prepared for himself, though the exact place is unknown. The effigy is a wreck, but the mitre is still to be seen; the pastoral staff is shattered.

Opposite to Parker's Chantry, on the south side of the choir, is the corbel-tomb, said by Leland to be that of Abbot Serlo. The effigy rests upon a projecting bracket instead of on a table-slab. If it be the grave of Serlo, it was erected at least a century after his time, for the first style discernible is Early English. The mutilated effigy bears the figure of a church in its left hand, and there is therefore little doubt that it is



THE TOMB OF EDWARD II. IN GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL

The king was murdered at Berkeley Castle, a few miles from Gloucester, in 1327. The tabernacle work of the tomb is a fine example of Decorated Gothic.

intended to represent a founder. Mr. Massé thinks that it is "more than probable" that it is that of Abbot Foliot (1228–1243), in whose time the church was re-dedicated. My own opinion is that it is that of Serlo, built over his remains by Foliot. The latter, one would imagine, would scarcely have the vanity to pose as the founder of a church which he merely reconsecrated.

The glazing of the windows has been much restored, but the windows still retain some remnants of the ancient stained glass. That in the west window, an opening made practicable by the great height of the choir, consists of fragments collected from other parts of the cathedral and pieced together.

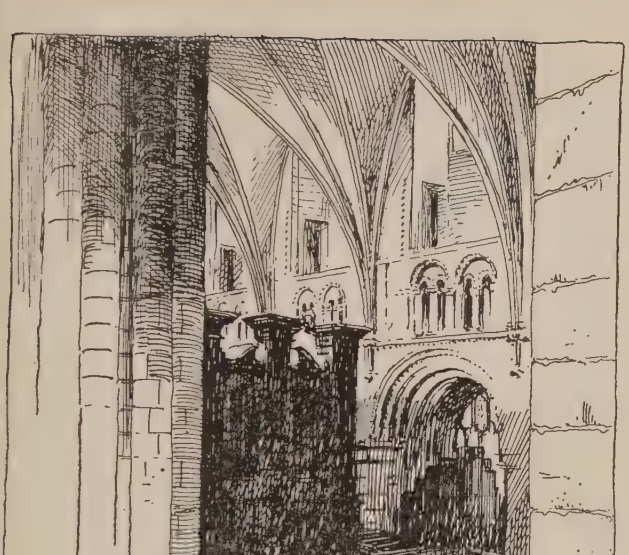
The Triforium is one of the most remarkable in the world, and from its galleries the observer gains a wonderful impression of the exceeding beauty of the choir. The most curious part is perhaps the narrow gallery carried round the east end behind the great window and crossing from the south-eastern chapel by a little covered bridge. This bridge is the celebrated Whispering Gallery. If one be blessed or cursed with an imagination, there is a quaint feeling of walking upon nothing as one passes over the window with mere glass instead of masonry on either hand. From it opens a chapel built upon the vestibule between the choir and the Lady Chapel. It had beneath it at one time the extreme eastern apse of the ancient abbey-church. It contains its original altar-slab with crosses incised upon its surface. There are opening from the triforium four chapels corresponding to those beneath. They are

interesting chiefly from the architectural fragments collected in some of them.

Against the wall of that part of the triforium which is above the south transept is the famous picture of the Last Judgment, which seems to date from the latter days of the abbey. It is now, unfortunately, in bad condition, and the details are not very easy to make out. They are of the kind usual in such works, and are extremely quaint. The picture is nearly ten feet wide and over seven feet seven inches high. It is painted upon wood and originally was enclosed within a gilded frame.

From this point there is a splendid view across the organ to the north side of the nave, in some respects the most impressive in the whole church. Turning in the other direction there is a yet more impressive prospect of the magnificence of the choir.

The Lady Chapel is entered from the choir through the beautiful vestibule contrived by demolishing the ancient Norman apsidal chapel, and throwing across the space thus left an extremely graceful vault or bridge with a shallow curve. The face of the arch towards the Lady Chapel is enriched with a delicate fretwork almost Arabesque or Persian in character. Upon it is reared a Perpendicular screen reaching to the roof. This is the most original and pleasing part of the edifice, though indeed the whole structure is one of remarkable beauty. The shafts from which the vaulting springs are very graceful, and the vault itself is superb —very much finer than that of the choir. It has a steeper pitch; its contour is better and the ribbing



FROM THE TRIFORIUM OF GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL

Looking towards the north side of the nave from the eastern angle of the south transept.

is a little less bewilderingly intricate. The bosses are masterpieces of delicate sculpture, and the impression made by the entire building is that it is a veritable triumph of a distinctively English school of art—the very swan-song of the true Perpendicular style. It must once have been infinitely more gorgeous than it is to-day, for at the Dissolution it blazed with gold and colour, but it may not have been really more beautiful. The paving is the original tile flooring, and the tiles are full of interest. They are inscribed with words of Scriptural texts and prayers, and so arranged that the patterns form a complete sentence. One invocation is, "Ave Maria gra' ple' Dus tecum"; that is, "Ave Maria gratia plena Dominus tecum." ("Hail, Mary, full of grace! The Lord be with thee!") This is the longest, but there are many others similar though briefer.

The east window of the Lady Chapel is a splendid example of a Perpendicular opening; its sole defect is that it has a slight hardness of outline and arrangement. It is filled with ancient glass but, as in some other cases, this seems to have been pieced together from other dismantled openings, so that the effect is not altogether good, and analysis of the subjects very difficult. It seems to have been glazed by a certain Thomas Compton, or at his expense, seeing that the name appears upon the glass.

There are two subsidiary chapels, so that the edifice as a whole has a slightly cruciform plan. Both possess fan-tracery vaults of exquisite design carried upon flying arches. The monuments are numerous but not

FIGURE OF A KING, PROBABLY RICHARD II.

In the stained glass of the east window of the Lady Chapel of Gloucester Cathedral.

interesting from the artistic standpoint, and some of them are frankly eyesores. In the north chapel is the effigy of Bishop Goldsborough (died 1614), which is worth a glance as it shows in detail the full episcopal garb of that period. In the Lady Chapel itself is the monument of Justice Sir John Powell (died 1713), who must not be confounded with his elder namesake, Sir John Powell, who was one of the judges at the trial of the Seven Bishops in 1688, and decided in favour of the accused prelates. The Sir John buried in the Lady Chapel of Gloucester was, however, an extremely able judge. He is perhaps best known as having tried the famous Beau Feilding bigamy case in 1706.

THE FAN-TRACERY OF THE CLOISTER ROOF OF GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL

The Perpendicular Cloisters form one of the most notable features of the cathedral.

This old rake had married within a fortnight of each other his fellow-profligate, the Duchess of Cleveland, once the mistress of Charles II., and a young woman named Mary Wadsworth. Feilding made all kinds of discreditable efforts to defeat the ends of justice, but Powell condemned him, though the old scoundrel's social influence saved him from punishment. The old Duchess of Cleveland (she was sixty-six and Feilding sixty-five) obtained her freedom for what it was worth. The oddest feature of the whole affair is that the actual Mrs. Feilding (*née* Mary Wadsworth) forgave her faithless and elderly husband, and returned to live with him!

The Crypt.—Before passing to the definitely monastic buildings around the cathedral, the visitor must not fail to descend into the famous crypt, one of the most remarkable in England. It is sometimes counted among the five which were built before 1085, the other four being those of Canterbury, Winchester, Rochester, and Worcester. It extends underneath the choir with its aisles and chapels, and in plan precisely corresponds thereto, its nave being surmounted by the choir itself, the ambulatories or aisles by the ambulatories of the choir, the five chapels by five others, except at the east end, where the ancient Norman building which stood upon the terminal chapel of the crypt has been demolished to make way for the vestibule of the Lady Chapel. The piers are low and massive, the arches of the vaulting perfectly simple.

The central portion or nave of the crypt beneath the choir is peculiar. It resembles a maze, being sub-

divided into three galleries by two ranges of small columns, irregularly sited and of extremely diverse patterns. It seems probable that they are the remains of the early Anglo-Saxon church, used to strengthen the vaulting of the crypt when, as was almost always the case with the Norman builders, the masons of Gloucester found that they had miscalculated weights, and that the crypt was not strong enough to support the huge structure which was being reared upon it. Those skilled in such matters will interest themselves in noting the many evidences of strengthening and reconstruction which were necessary. The central portion is lower in level than the ambulatory and is also lower in height, this having been reduced by the building of new arches when the double range of columns was erected. The five chapels, apart from their pure Norman architecture and the double piscinæ which survive in two of them, are not worthy of detailed description here. That at the south-east corner is the least simple; its right-hand wall is enriched with a graceful though almost plain arcade.

The magnificent CLOISTERS, which are considered to be unrivalled in England, are entered from the cathedral by a door in the north aisle of the nave, inside the iron gates and opposite to the organ. They were commenced by Abbot Horton (1351–1377), and completed by his second successor, Froucester (1381–1412). They form a quadrangle of ten bays or divisions on each side, each bay lighted on the side of the court-yard, or cloister garth, by a Perpendicular window. Two of the four galleries are simple promenades; but

In the Crypt of Gloucester Cathedral

It was built about 1089 and may incorporate earlier work.

that in the south, extending along the north side of the cathedral nave, is different. Beneath the ten windows are twenty carrels or recesses. Here, according to rule, the monks after dinner retired to study and meditate until evensong. The northern gallery is perhaps the most interesting of all, since it contains the monastic lavatory—a narrow corridor-like apartment—built out from the main cloister and projecting into the garth. Outside is the ancient tank in which storm-water was allowed to collect (probably) for gardening purposes. The water ran into it at the north corner by a well-constructed duct and drained away on the opposite side, the tank being tapered so as to permit an easy flow.

The architecture of the cloisters is truly a delight to the eye. The walls have, perhaps, a little too much the appearance of flatness when viewed in perspective: the piers from which the vaulting springs do not appear to project quite sufficiently. But no fault can fairly be found with the lovely fan vaulting, and the contour is almost perfect, having none of the hardness or the flatness which sometimes spoil Perpendicular arches.

The most picturesque of the four galleries is possibly that which contains the twenty carrels, but doubtless many visitors will be attracted rather by the lavatory with its somewhat primitive arrangements, which were, however, quite as good as those to be found in any palace of the time. Incidentally, the north alley was closed at both ends by screens; and it would seem that it was appropriated to the use of the novices who were not yet subjected to the full monastic rule, and were

permitted to divert themselves with pastimes. On the stone bench are scratched sundry diagrams for the playing of these games.

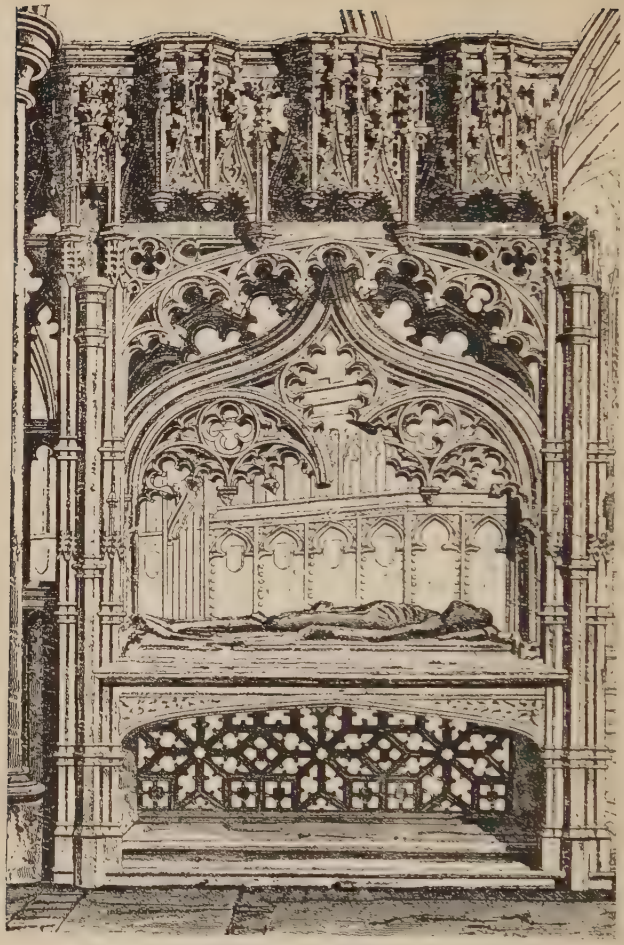
From the east gallery is entered the CHAPTER-HOUSE. The entry is by a Norman doorway with zig-zag moulding. The oblong hall consisted originally, as seems most probable, of three Norman bays and an apse, but it has now a flat end and a fourth Perpendicular bay. The probability is that the intention was to remodel the whole structure. The roof of the Norman portion is a high barrel vault supported by three Transitional arches springing from the columns which divide the bays. In each Norman bay the lower wall is enriched by a blind arcade, and beneath this may be traced the line of the stone benching occupied by the fathers when sitting in chapter. The Perpendicular bay has an excellent groined vaulting, and the contour of the window is also good. The tiling is modern, by Minton, but it carefully copies the original floor.

In the chapter-house were buried many barons of the Norman epoch before the completion of the church. Their names were inscribed upon the wall and have been restored; among them were Roger Fitz-Osbern, Earl of Hereford, Richard "Strongbow," son of Gilbert, Earl of Pembroke, with Bernard de Neufmarché and Walter de Lacy, comrades of William the Conqueror. Beside the chapter-house is THE ABBOT'S CLOISTER, a Norman gallery with a Perpendicular east end, and a slight curve in its ground-plan, owing to the fact that it follows the outline of the cathedral transept.

The Monks' Lavatory in the Cloisters of Gloucester Cathedral

CHAPTER IV

TEWKESBURY ABBEY



THE MAGNIFICENT TOMB IN TEWKESBURY ABBEY CALLED "ABBOT WAKEMAN'S CENOTAPH"

The effigy is shown in a state of corruption and is being devoured by small reptiles.

CHAPTER IV

TEWKESBURY ABBEY

Tewkesbury is known to historians chiefly as the place of a terrible battle and a grim massacre; to lovers of Shakespeare as a town celebrated, according to a certain corpulent knight, who was, doubtless, experienced in the matter, for the production of good mustard—though to be sure it was not so thick as the wit of Mr. Poins. Artists will think of Tewkesbury principally as an ancient town full of picturesque buildings and enticing nooks; to the archæologist all other interests are small beside that presented by its venerable abbey-church, one of the finest Norman edifices in England.

As with many places in our country, legend has been busy with the circumstances of the foundation of the abbey of Tewkesbury. The chronicle of the monastery has many details concerning its history before the Norman Conquest, but some of them are probably fabulous; the compiler in one case seems to have confounded two persons who were separated by an interval of three centuries. He says that the abbey was founded by two brothers named Oddo and Doddo; the most reasonable theory supposes a confusion

between Odda who lived about 1000–1060, and a much earlier Odda or Dodda, who founded some kind of a monastic establishment at Tewkesbury about 715, on the site of the hermitage of a certain Theuk. In 802, according to the abbey chronicle, Beorhtric, King of Wessex, who ruled by the grace of his father-in-law, Offa of Mercia, was buried in the chapel of the Holy Faith in the church of Tewkesbury by "Hugh, a great Earl of the Mercians." There are probably two errors here. Hugh is not a possible VIIIth-century English name, and there were no earls in Mercia until two centuries later. But the burial of Beorhtric, who sat upon an uneasy vassal's throne, and was probably murdered by his wife Eadburh at Tewkesbury in Mercian territory, may be accepted.

This first foundation must have been sacked by the Vikings, who for years in the reign of Alfred were lodged in Gloucestershire. It dwindled into a tiny institution dependent upon the abbey of Cranbourne in Dorset, and so remained until about 1102.

About the year 1090 King William Rufus granted the Honour of Gloucester and the patronage of Tewkesbury Priory to his kinsman Robert Fitz-Hamo or Fitz-Hamon. This was a reward for the latter's faithful support during the rebellion of Odo of Bayeux and Robert of Mortain. Fitz-Hamo was one of the greatest of those fighting lord-marchers who for two centuries slowly wore down the stubborn resistance of the Welsh mountaineers. He adhered with the same unusual steadiness to Henry I., and when he died was one of the greatest barons of England and

THE WEST FRONT OF TEWKESBURY ABBEY-CHURCH

It is only comparable to the western façade of Peterborough Cathedral for the splendour of its deeply recessed arch.

Normandy, lord not only of Gloucestershire and vast estates elsewhere, but also of Glamorgan, which he had conquered from the Welsh and organised as an English county.

When this notable and, for his age, really estimable warrior began to take an interest in Tewkesbury is not known, but it was probably soon after 1090. He is said to have been encouraged by his friend Gerald de Brienne, Abbot of Cranbourne, who evidently found the town by the Severn bank a more desirable place than his Dorsetshire seat. At any rate, by 1102 the new buildings were so far advanced that Abbot Gerald and all his monks, except a few, migrated thither and settled down in what was henceforth to be one of the most important monastic foundations in England. Fitz-Hamo endowed it lavishly, granting amongst other things the ancient British monastery at Llantwit, St. Mary's Church and the castle-chapel at Cardiff, and tithes of all his domains throughout Wales. Thus splendidly did the abbey of Tewkesbury commence its career. William of Malmesbury waxed enthusiastic concerning the grandeur of the buildings and the liberality of the monks—with the wealth showered upon them by Fitz-Hamo they might well be generous.

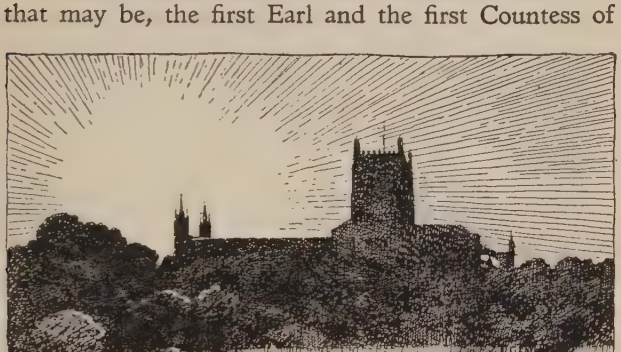
Abbot Gerald ruled for a few years only: the chronicle declares that he was not sufficiently ready to satiate with gifts the greediness of King Henry I.—a statement which perhaps indicates that the unfortunate ecclesiastic was between the devil of the royal taxes and the deep sea of building expenses. At any rate, in 1109 he was deprived by the king, and retired

to end his life at Winchester. He was succeeded by a certain Robert, who apparently was better able to satisfy both his ecclesiastical conscience and the son of the Conqueror. At all events, the work of building went forward, and on 20th November, 1123, the abbey was consecrated by the Bishop of Worcester, supported by those of Hereford, Llandaff, Dublin and another. Its great benefactor had long since passed away. Robert Fitz-Hamo died in 1107, mortally wounded when aiding Henry I. to conquer Normandy. His remains were brought to Tewkesbury and buried in the chapter-house, probably the only portion of the abbey then completed; but in 1241 Abbot Forthington translated them to a chantry in the choir where they still remain beneath a Perpendicular canopy-screen of surpassing beauty.

Fitz-Hamo died sonless, leaving (probably) a single daughter as the heritrix of his greatness—Mabel, whom Henry I. married to his natural son Robert, the famous patron of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and gallant supporter against the usurper Stephen of his half-sister Matilda. The rhyming chronicle of Robert of Gloucester will have it that the proud Norman girl, descended in lawful wedlock from the brother of Rolf the Conqueror—perhaps from Rolf himself—was not by any means ready to give her hand to a royal bastard, and was only reconciled to her fate by the elevation of her husband to the rank of Earl of Gloucester.

History knows nothing of this or of the three sisters whom Mabel is said to have had. The probability is that she was very young at her father's death,

since she survived her husband ten years; and it may be assumed that the marriage was arranged in the usual way by the king. Robert was certainly not created Earl of Gloucester until about 1121, so that the story of Mabel's insistence is probably baseless. However that may be, the first Earl and the first Countess of



TEWKESBURY ABBEY CHURCH
Showing its silhouette from the south.

Gloucester were great benefactors of Tewkesbury Abbey. In 1221 the Honour of Tewkesbury passed —still in the distaff line from Fitz-Hamo—to Richard de Clare, Earl of Hertford, and with the de Clares it remained for ninety years until the untimely death on the field of Bannockburn, in 1314, of Gilbert III., Earl of Gloucester. His sister Eleanor married Hugh le Despenser, and for nearly a century this famous

family were the patrons of Tewkesbury, to be succeeded by the Beauchamps—Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, having wedded Isabelle, sister of Richard, the last Lord le Despenser. By this marriage it presently came about that Richard of Warwick, the king-maker, was Lord of Tewkesbury for a time, and was followed after the close of his ambitious career by George, Duke of Clarence, the brother of Edward IV.

During this long period, the town and abbey witnessed one event of epoch-making importance—the bloody battle of Tewkesbury, which for a quarter of a century ended the hopes of the House of Lancaster. So many of the immediate and ultimate victims of this fatal conflict lie beneath the pavement of the venerable abbey that some account of it cannot be omitted.

It was fought on Saturday, May 4th, 1471. Queen Marguerite of Anjou, the energetic and undespairing wife of poor Henry VI., had landed at Weymouth on April 14th, in order to support her great partisan Warwick, the king-maker. On that very day, he was defeated and slain at Barnet, and when the queen heard the news she wished to return to France, and thus save her son, Prince Edward, who was with her. But the exiles in her company were reckless and desperate, and induced her to risk all on a final throw of the dice of war. Therefore she went to Exeter, where she was joined by a great force of Devonshire and Cornish men, and pushed on by Taunton, Glastonbury and Wells, rallying the country-folk to her standard, and intending to cross the Severn into Wales,

where Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, was calling to arms the excitable descendants of the Silures and Demetæ. But now King Edward, fresh from his victory at Barnet, was hastening westward.

Gloucester refused to surrender to the Lancastrians, who had marched all night on May 2nd to surprise it, and Edward was hard on their heels, coming from Malmesbury. Though they had tramped more than thirty miles that day from Bristol to Gloucester, the Lancastrians actually struggled on another ten to Tewkesbury, and there, about four in the afternoon, the army literally dropped—men and horses beaten out. "They pight them in a fielde, in a close even at the towne's end, the towne and abbey at theyr backes; afore them and upon every hand of them fowle lanes and depe dikes and many hedges with hylls and valleys; a ryghte evill place to approache as coulde well have been devysed."

This description, that of King Edward himself, seems clearly to show that the Lancastrian army was encamped quite close to the town, in the still somewhat involved ground beyond the Swillgate Brook, which, in 1471, covered with wood and undergrowth, intersected by ditches and muddy deep-sunk lanes, must have been as difficult as Edward describes it. He himself, while the Lancastrians had been making their amazing march from Bristol, had been keeping parallel with them on their right flank from Malmesbury to Cheltenham—a distance of over thirty miles, without food, forage or water, save that which was to be obtained from one brook, which was soon rendered

unfit for drinking by the passage of the artillery and transport. Certainly the English yeomen of the xvth century were hardy.

At Cheltenham the king was informed by scouts that the Lancastrians seemed determined to stand to fight, and he at once halted his weary columns for necessary rest, intending to attack on the morrow. As he had about eight miles to march and must then deploy his army, the battle probably did not commence very early in the day.

According to all appearance the Lancastrian army must have been ranged along the line of about three-quarters of a mile between Windmill Hill on the Avon and Perry Hill, overlooking the Swillgate Brook on their left. The position was remarkably strong; but it had one terrible defect, for in the rear it was completely enclosed by the Avon and the Swillgate. The Lancastrian army must have been rather strong, as armies of the Wars of the Roses went—perhaps over 10,000 men. Edward had perhaps as many, of whom only about 3000 were infantry. The practice among the English archers was to ride on the march, and this accounts for the long distances which these mediæval armies could cover at a stretch. Probably even the foot-archers got into carts or borrowed beasts for the occasion.

The Lancastrians were ensconced in three divisions on their chosen ground. The left wing, nearest to the Swillgate, was commanded by Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset; the centre by Prince Edward and Lord Wenlock; the right by the Earl of Devon.

King Edward defiled over the Swillgate and lined up opposite, also in three divisions. The vanguard was led by the young Duke of Gloucester, afterwards King Richard III.; the centre by the king; the rearward by Lord Hastings. As Gloucester was in front, and the Lancastrians faced to the south, while the Yorkists came from the south-east, the line deployed with the vanguard on the left. To cover his deployment the king posted on his right a flank-guard of about 200 cavalry.

The order of the Yorkist advance brought Prince Richard first into action. The Lancastrians' position was so strong that the only hope was to torment them into a counter-attack. So Richard, doubtless by his brother's orders, pounded furiously at the "marvaylows stronge grownde" with his artillery, while his archers pushed forward and engaged the Devonshire bowmen across the "hedges, trees and busshes." The Lancastrians, short of artillery, could not reply very vigorously and, after a time, the Duke of Somerset lost his head, just as King Edward had hoped, and came charging down out of his position to attack the Yorkist centre. Apparently he expected the rest of the army to support him, but they did not do so. Edward and Richard closed with him, drove him back, routed his wing and broke into the Lancastrian position along with him. The Lancastrian line was assailed in front and flank, and poured in panic flight towards Tewkesbury. There was a frightful scene of slaughter and drowning at the Swillgate and the fields on its north bank, just south of the abbey, which are still called the "Bloody Meadow." Prince Edward was killed

here, crying in vain to Clarence, his brother-in-law, for quarter. The story that he was deliberately murdered is almost certainly an invention, but that King Edward gave orders that he was to be killed at any cost is likely enough.

Tewkesbury itself was swept by the tide of defeat and pursuit, and suffered terribly. The chase rolled into and through the abbey-church, which was crammed with fugitives of all ranks, very many wounded and dying. The church had no right of sanctuary, but the abbot and monks met the victorious monarch at the entry, and with little difficulty he was persuaded to grant quarter to all the common folk. The leaders could hardly hope for mercy, and, according to the savage practice of a savage war, the captive Duke of Somerset and fifteen other barons and knights were put to death. It is only fair to add that fifteen more prisoners of rank were spared. Such is a brief account of Tewkesbury's most important and most unhappy day—most important, that is, as regards the history of England.

The desecrated and bloodstained church was not used for divine service for nearly a month: it was reconsecrated on May 30th. The abbot, John Streynsham, lived for ten years after the battle.

He had four successors down to the Dissolution in 1539. The last, John Wakeman, was one of those who were wise enough to surrender their monasteries without resistance; and, in return, he received a handsome annuity of 400 marks (quite £1500 in value of 1913). The jewels and plate were, of course, con-

fiscated: of the latter there were 1431 ounces. The church was "deemed superfluous"; but the inhabitants of the town were determined not to see the building which had stood in its glory for four centuries destroyed, and they petitioned their "most dread, victorious, sovereign lord" for permission to purchase it. A bargain was struck; and Robert Fitz-Hamo's gift to Romanesque architecture, with its bells intact, passed into the possession of the town of Tewkesbury for the sum of £453—or, say, £4500 in value of 1913. The bells were valued at 2½d. per pound, and the roofing-lead at 5d. per square foot. It is considered by some authorities that the nave was already, as elsewhere, the town church, so that the purchase-money related to the tower, transepts and choir only.

This splendid monument of Norman times was thus saved for the nation by the pride of the townspeople, but it did not escape neglect and decay. The nave was used for public entertainments and stage-plays. The wooden spire collapsed. There were ill-judged repairs and mutilations, after the fashion of the XVIth, XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries, when ecclesiastical art suffered so grievous a decline. Finally, in 1875 a general restoration was carried out at a cost of £15,000. It seems, on the whole, to have been carefully and reverently achieved, though the suggestion of restoration moved William Morris to wild wrath. With very much of what he said in his indignation every lover of art will agree; and its practical outcome was the formation of the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings.

If Tewkesbury only once during its life of eight centuries has been directly concerned in history, there is perhaps no church in England which holds the mortal remains of so many scions of noble families. Of the great patrons of the abbey, from Robert Fitz-Hamo down to the Beauchamps of the xvth century, all save two lie in the shadow of its Norman arcades. It is a veritable mausoleum of de Clares, Despensers and Beauchamps. Barons, who forced John to grant the Great Charter, and fought with or against Simon de Montfort, lie there with men who were the agents of Edward II., and with others who aided his son to trample the French chivalry underfoot at Crécy. Beneath the pavement lie many victims of the Battle of Tewkesbury, and of the grim vengeance of the victorious king, and there, also, repose the mortal remains of two princes who fought on opposite sides on that fatal day: Edward (Lancastrian), Prince of Wales, slain on the field, and his cousin and enemy—perhaps his actual slayer—George, Duke of Clarence—foes and strangers in life united at last in death. In truth, there are many memories clustered beneath the solemn vaulting of Tewkesbury Abbey.

The Abbey-Church

The exterior of the abbey-church gives an excellent impression of what a fully-developed Norman-Romanesque edifice of its type must have been. The workmanship of Robert Fitz-Hamo's masons was so

admirable that it has stood the test of time to this day; and so we have the cruciform church with the central tower intact. There has been considerable remodelling: the massive walls have been pierced above and below by pointed windows; but at Tewkesbury they do not appear to detract from the stern simplicity of the building. Both transepts, for example, look typically Norman despite the remodelled window-arches; and even the terribly incongruous openings of the clerestory cannot quite destroy the effect of the graceful Norman arcades.

Externally, the church is perhaps too long and too low for symmetry, and the huge tower may to some appear overwhelming and oppressive. The striking of the proper proportion between the body of a church and its central tower appears to have been the stumbling-block of mediæval artists: to the writer, only the Angel Tower at Canterbury is absolutely satisfying—and it dates from almost the end of the period. Tewkesbury Church appears to be too weak to uphold its tower: there is an impression of broken-backedness: it is a pity that no scheme of restoration has included the reconstruction of the steep Norman roof, the lines of which are still clearly traced upon the sides of the tower.

One feels the same on viewing the west front. The grouping is excellent. The excessive length of the nave is not apparent; the tower does not have the semblance of an oppressive weight; and, in the foreground, the magnificent recessed archway, with its flanking arcaded turrets, presents itself in all its beauty—perhaps the finest achievement in point of architectural detail ever

wrought by Norman-English artists. The loss of the gable, destroyed in the XVIIIth century, is keenly felt: the lack of it irretrievably damages the effect of the gigantic portal. That is entirely to be regretted,

THE BELL-TOWER OF TEWKESBURY ABBEY
Which was wantonly demolished in 1817.

for the more it is studied the more does the stern majesty of the recessed arch impress itself upon the beholder. It is true that the wings of the front are disappointing with their feeble roof-slopes, but for that very reason they cause the observer to fix attention upon the towering archway, full of strength and mystery.

From the pictorial standpoint, the best view of the church is probably that from the east. The loss of the Lady Chapel and the ancient high-pitched vault of the choir are both apparent, but the sense of disappointment vanishes when contemplating the delightful grouping of the north-eastern chapels, choir, and northern transept, with the magnificent tower crowning the whole. The simple but gracious blank Romanesque arcading of the transept, and the more ornate embellishments of the Norman tower, contrast rather strongly with the Decorated Gothic of choir and chapels, yet the sense of incongruity is not crushing or unpleasant.

The single weak point in the view from this quarter is the unsatisfying final stage of the tower. The battlements are mediocre and the pinnacles poor, while the fact that they are inset from the upper Norman stage decidedly weakens the effect of the imposing structure. The dwarfs of the XVIIth century would have been better advised had they refrained from tampering with it—but that was not their way. Meddle they must, and wherever they meddled, they spoiled. Few of their pauperisations are so annoying as the paltry pinnacles imposed upon some of the grandest Norman Romanesque work in our island.

In general design the tower is not unlike those of Exeter, with which it is almost exactly contemporary. The first stage is plain, but the second and third are covered with graceful blind arcades, alternating with windows of admirable outline. The upper stage of

the second storey consists of a complete range of arcading, and the demi-turrets at the corners are also arcaded. The effect is both stately and graceful, and, but for the wretched XVIIth-century capping, Tewkesbury tower would have few equals and fewer superiors in England.

The north porch requires a passing notice, for it seems to have been an after-thought. It is unusually large for a Norman porch, and has a parvise chamber, the purpose of which it is difficult to determine, for it is very gloomy and not easy of access. Its aspect is that of the sternest and most severe simplicity, reminding the observer that the Norman builders could at times, as at St. Albans, be almost painfully sparing of ornament.

The cloisters have almost completely disappeared. From the fragments remaining, it is clear that they were a magnificent example of Gothic architecture, passing from Early to true Perpendicular. The doorway which led from them into the south aisle, which still survives, is pure Perpendicular and apparently of two dates; the door opening itself with its flattened arch being later than the extremely fine archway which encloses it. On the other hand, the two concentric arches may be part of the same design, and after studying the whole for a while, the sense of inharmoniousness disappears. The cloister arcades adjoining this door have the appearance of Perpendicular only just emerging from the Decorated period.

The Lady Chapel has entirely vanished; and there is nothing to indicate its dimensions or style of archi-

tecture. It seems probable that it was never completed. Judging by the traces on the eastern end of the church, it either was, or was intended to be, a Perpendicular edifice, resembling that of Gloucester, but smaller: the double arch outlines rather convey the impression that there was a vestibule of the same type.

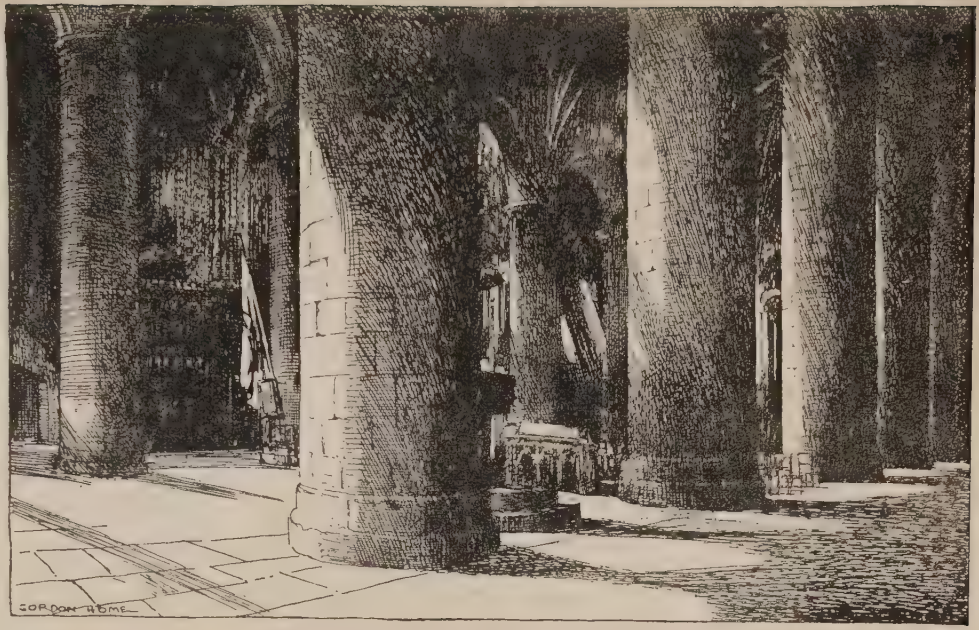
The Interior

Entering by the north porch, and taking position beneath the great west window, the visitor who has come from Gloucester is at once impressed with the strong resemblance between the two naves. In fact, it is so close that it can hardly be accidental. The piers are of almost precisely the same height and thickness —about 30 feet 6 inches by 6 feet 3 inches. The capitals are similar; there is the same crippled triforium to spoil the effect of the arcades. But, at Tewkesbury, those who in later ages vaulted the nave, succeeded where those of Gloucester failed. The early XIVth-century vaulting is entirely satisfactory. Its outline is far better than that of the cathedral, and the sense of completeness is better, for the ribs spring from corbels placed directly upon the capitals of the piers. It is true, perhaps, that this gives a certain effect of brooding lowness, but the opulence of the vault is a relief to the excessive height of the piers. To many writers upon architecture, "lack of height" is a kind of parrot-cry. I cannot agree that the nave of Tewkesbury is really deficient in this respect, and the

comparative richness of the vault adds just that touch of warmth which is wanting to the bleakness of Gloucester.

The aisles were vaulted at a much earlier epoch than the nave, the work being Early English in character. The junction of the single ribs is marked by ornate bosses, but the effect is not particularly good: their elaboration clashes somewhat with the simplicity of the vault. No such criticism can be directed against the decorative bosses of the vaulting of the nave, which, as a whole, furnish a most remarkable series of examples of mediæval sculpture. Those at the summit represent the Life of Christ in a regular succession of episodes, beginning with the Birth and ending with the Ascension. Having three more bosses at his disposal, the pious sculptor filled them with the Day of Pentecost, the Coronation of St. Mary, and the Day of Judgment. The character of the work is vigorous though rude, and was enthusiastically praised by Mr. Gambier Parry, who redecorated the roof, to the best of his judgment, according to the ancient colour-scheme. It must never be forgotten that mediæval Christian churches, like ancient Greek temples, were elaborately decorated with colour and gilding. Whether Mr. Parry altogether succeeded is another matter.

The screen, pulpit, lectern and font are all modern, except the base and shaft of the last. It is a little needless to enlarge upon them, for they are simply good and mechanically perfect copies of an art which was, above all, instinct with vitality. The screen is excellent in



THE NAVE OF TEWKESBURY ABBEY-CHURCH

From the south aisle, showing the forest-like effect of the closely-placed columns.

workmanship, but as a design it is too low; on the other hand, the font is literally overwhelmed by an enormous tabernacle cover. The tabernacle by itself is extremely graceful, despite its archaic lifelessness; but on top of the font it has a most unhappy appearance, almost as bad—though that is a strong opinion—as the top-heavy flamboyance of the Albert Memorial in London. The screen, too, has wrought-iron gates. In all these matters there is to be observed a want of that spirit which made mediæval ecclesiastic art a living thing. Bad, good, or indifferent, modern church furnishings are simply furniture.

The great west window is, except as regards its frame, a lifeless XVIIth-century attempt to reproduce that which was blown in, in 1661. The glass is modern, and represents incidents in the Life of Christ. The Decorated openings of the aisles are also filled with modern glazing, but they form a connected series, also illustrating the Life of Christ; and there has been a conscientious attempt to reproduce the ancient stained glass of the choir. The glass of those in the south aisle and the great west window was donated by the Rev. W. C. Grove, in 1888, as a memorial to his wife.

At the eastern end of the south aisle is the door which gave access to the cloisters. Originally it was a Norman opening, but it was built up, and the present Late Perpendicular doorway stands within it. It is largely a restoration.

In the north aisle, near the crossing of the transepts, is a recessed tomb, dating apparently from the end

of the XIVth century. It is in a badly-wrecked condition, but the grace of its canopy-arch is not to be hidden; and the effigy must have been one of the finest in the country. It has often been absurdly assigned to John, Baron Wenlock, a somewhat shifty official and soldier of the Wars of the Roses, who began as a Lancastrian, then turned Yorkist, and ended by becoming a Lancastrian again and falling at the Battle of Tewkesbury. One chronicler has it that he was murdered during the rout by the desperate Somerset, who accused him of treachery, and then beat in his skull with his battle-axe. Another story, however, was to the effect that Wenlock died fighting bravely among his men. In any case, this striking tomb cannot be his: it is a century earlier than the battle, if not more.

Two epitaphs in the nave will attract notice. One is in broad doggerel English verse, about as bad as anything which the XVIIth century ever produced, to a "barber-chirurgeon" named Thomas Merrit, who died in 1669. The opening letters of the lines form his name, which circumstance furnishes the excuse for twelve hatchet-hewn lines. The Latin epitaph of Amie Wiatt in the north aisle is written on the same puerile principle, and the versification is not by any means pure or graceful.

In the south aisle, by the cloister doorway, is another tomb, with an ogee arch, crowned by an angel bearing a shield. This is plain, but on one of the cusps of the arch are the arms of the de Clares, and on another a lion rampant, which indicates the house of Despenser. It is therefore almost certainly the tomb of

THE NAVE OF TEWKESBURY ABBEY-CHURCH

Its plain cylindrical piers and the arches which they support bear a very close resemblance to those of Gloucester Cathedral.

Two of the east windows were blocked up when this photograph was taken.

some connection of the two families. In accordance with the local tradition, it has been assigned to the Duke of Somerset, who commanded in the Battle of Tewkesbury, but this is as absurd as the identification of the tomb opposite with that of Lord Wenlock.

The North Transept is practically that of Fitz-Hamo, but the windows are Decorated. No impression of the whole can be gained, as the transept is almost filled with the "Grove" organ. On the north side is a painted alabaster tablet to John Roberts of Fiddington, which is quite worth reading, for it might be that of Sir Roger de Coverley. In this connection it might be observed that Addison made Sir Roger a Worcestershire man, and Tewkesbury is not far from the border of that county. One would like to think that the "Spectator" visited the abbey-church and copied the epitaph; but there is, I fear, no evidence to support any such theory. Be that as it may, the epitaph is one which reminds the writer of those of ancient Rome:

> Here resteth what was mortal of John Roberts of Fiddington, gent. Careful he was to maintain tillage, the maintenance of mankind. He feared God, was faithful to his country, friends, good to the poore and commonwealth, just to all men. Who left us Jan. 1631; aged 77.

The "Grove" organ has been mentioned. The abbey-church of Tewkesbury is so fortunate as to possess a second organ erected in 1887 to commemorate the Golden Jubilee of Queen Victoria. It includes a choir, a great, a swell, a solo, and a pedal organ, and

has forty-seven principal stops, besides a number of accessory stops—so far as a puzzled non-expert is capable of understanding the official specification.

The organ in the choir was built by John, the grandfather of Renatus Harris, for Magdalen College at Oxford. During the Commonwealth it was removed to Hampton Court, and may have often delighted the music-loving ears of Oliver Cromwell. At the Restoration it went back to Magdalen, and in 1736 was sold to Tewkesbury. Very little of the original work now remains, but the instrument is still used.

The South Transept resembles its fellow on the north, but not being crammed with the mechanism of wind-music, is much better to be surveyed. On the west side, the solid Norman wall is pierced by a Decorated window, and beneath it is the built-up Norman doorway which formerly gave access to the cloisters. From the east side opens out one of the most interesting features of Tewkesbury, a tiny apsidal chapel of the purest Romanesque design—a nearly undefiled example of what the abbey-church was like in the days of Fitz-Hamo and Robert of Gloucester. Not altogether, unfortunately, for it has been fitted, not to its advantage, with modern mosaic and stained glass of uninteresting quality. There are the remains of a piscina. Above the chapel is a second vaulted apse, also apparently at one time a chapel. Its vault shows traces of brilliant decoration. Access to this chapel and to the triforium and clerestory of the choir is given by a circular stairway at the south-east angle of the transept.

In the south wall a brass tablet, formerly on the pavement of the choir, commemorates Edward, Prince of Wales, killed at Tewkesbury in 1471.

The Tower may be ascended by a stairway from the north transept. The first chamber is a more than usually fine example of Norman Romanesque art, and when open to the church as it originally was, it must have added greatly to the impressiveness of the interior. Round it at the floor level runs a masculine and severely beautiful arcaded platform or plinth upon which stand the deep window recesses. The windows only fill the upper portion of the recesses; the lower part is decorated with blind arcading, except on the west where all is plain. The floor is peculiar, having a sort of swell in the centre, produced by the lierne vaulting of Guy de Brien underneath. Above this fine chamber is the ringers' room, and above it again the belfry. Eight bells hang in the tower, of which four date from the Dissolution, though all have been recast.

The view from the top of the tower is a beautiful one, extending over the valleys of the Severn and the Avon, including the superb tower of Gloucester Cathedral, and bounded by the Cotswolds to the east and north-east, and the Malvern Hills to the west; while far to the west the Welsh mountains on a fine day show dimly through the shimmering haze.

The Choir

Owing to the remodelling of the eastern end of the church, the choir has lost its distinctively Norman character, but retains its apsidal plan, as is also the case at Canterbury. Tewkesbury choir is a very small matter beside that of the mother of English churches; but for all that it is both beautiful and dignified. Its architecture is an intriguing study. At first, it seems to be Transitional Norman and Decorated Gothic; but on looking more closely, it becomes evident that the apparently Transitional arches are actually Decorated, as are the capitals which crown the Norman piers. The dwarfed triforium has entirely vanished; above the main apsidal arcade is a high clerestory with admirable Decorated openings. The whole is covered by a vault which marks the commencement of the Perpendicular style. The ribs spring from shafts carried up from the Norman piers, terminating in highly-elaborated capitals. The bosses are sculptured, for the most part, with a decoration of vine leaves. The vault of the tower is also interesting. Between the diverging ribs in the centre are suns-in-splendour; the whole is enclosed within an elaborated circle. It is a reasonable theory that these were donated by Edward IV. after the Battle of Tewkesbury, since the sun-in-splendour was his favourite device.

The *Mensa* of the altar is believed to be the original one belonging to the abbey-church, and mentioned in the chronicle *sub anno* 1239. It is of Purbeck marble, 13 feet 6 inches by 3 feet 5 inches, and about 5 inches

thick. So far as is known, it was buried in the choir at the Dissolution by some of the monks who hoped thus to preserve it. In 1607 it was discovered and placed in the middle of the choir as a communion table. In the XVIIIth century it is scarcely necessary to add that it was first shifted into the aisle, then cut in two and fixed as benches in the north porch. Finally, the desecration was repaired as far as might be at the last restoration; the mutilated slab was rejoined and set up once more in its ancient position at the expense of Earl Beauchamp.

Far more interesting from the artistic standpoint are the sedilia. Terribly mutilated though they are, enough remains to prove that in the days of their glory they had few superiors. There are three enriched Decorated arches surmounted by tall gables filled with "Arabesque" sculpture. Between the gables were originally statued niches borne upon highly ornate corbels, but only part of one remains; and the arches and gables are in a ruined condition. Some remnants of the original colour and gilding survive to show what this beautiful work of art must have been in the times when the services of the Roman Church were still held, in all their pomp, in the choir of Tewkesbury.

The windows, seven in number, are all of the XIVth century, but not apparently of the same date. The two nearest to the tower look rather as if they are the earliest; the next four are full Decorated: the eastern window is the most elaborate of all; its head contains a twelve-rayed rose or "wheel," surrounded by an ornate tracery of crosses and other devices.

The glass of these windows is happily, for the most part, the ancient XIVth-century work, with a comparatively small amount of modern restoration. That of the eastern opening depicts the Day of Judgment, a favourite subject with ecclesiastic artists of that age. At some time or another, the glass seems to have been somewhat re-arranged, for it is not very symmetrical. Some of the heads are modern, inserted at his own cost in 1828 by a London glass-painter named Collins; before which public-spirited action criticism may well be silent.

The four windows next to the eastern opening are glazed with glass which, now in a fragmentary condition, once represented scriptural subjects. Far more interesting are the two westernmost ones, which depict eight distinguished benefactors of the abbey, four in each.

In the north-west window, over the Warwick Chapel, are:

Robert Fitz-Hamo, the founder of the present church;

Robert Fitz-Roy, first Earl of Gloucester, husband of Mabel Fitz-Hamo;

Hugh III. le Despenser, the favourite of Edward II., involved in his ruin;

Gilbert III. de Clare, tenth Earl of Gloucester, slain at Bannockburn.

In the south-west window appear:

Gilbert de Clare, the founder of the family's greatness in Wales;

Alan, Baron de la Zouche, a prominent soldier and official of Henry III.;

Richard IV. de Clare, seventh Earl of Gloucester.

Gilbert I. de Clare, sixth Earl of Gloucester and fifth Earl of Hertford, the first of his house to be Lord of Tewkesbury.

The special interest of these windows is that they give, probably, accurate details of the knightly armour of the period.

The Eastern Chapels and the Chantries

Of all the churches in England, none, with the exception of Westminster, possesses so large a group of memorial chantries. Some of them are properly in the choir, others in the ambulatory and eastern chapels; but it is impossible to treat of them here otherwise than as a whole.

Leaving the choir, and proceeding from west to east along the northern ambulatory, the visitor comes first to a chapel called by the names of St. Nicholas and St. James. It is chiefly remarkable for the irregular vaulting of its roof—two equal parts on one side and two unequal ones on the other. There is much difference of opinion as to its original use and dedication, and there is little need to dwell upon it, save for the fact that many of the dead Lancastrian magnates were buried beneath its pavements after the battle of 1471.

Opening from it on the north side is a second chapel of far greater interest. It is in style Early English, and must originally have been of extreme beauty. Beneath the windows was a trefoil-headed arcade, the spandrels filled with delicately-sculptured foliage. Of

the columns only three remain intact; eight more are represented by their capitals alone.

Under the pavement of these two chapels lie the remains of Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, his brother John, Thomas Courtenay, Earl of Devon, Sir Richard Courtenay, Sir Humphrey Hadley, and Sir Thomas Tresham; all of them were executed by Edward IV. on the morrow of his victory. Sir John Langstrother, High Treasurer of England, and Baron Wenlock, are also probably buried near by, though nothing can be certainly said regarding the place.

Continuing along the northern ambulatory one comes next to the Chapel of St. Margaret. It is separated from the ambulatory by a very graceful though not perfectly satisfying Decorated screen, in the centre of which stands the tabernacle-tomb of Sir Guy de Brien, afterwards Baron of Welwyn, third husband of the Lady Elizabeth le Despenser, presently to be mentioned. He fought at Crécy, among other things, and was a liberal benefactor of Tewkesbury Abbey. The tomb itself dates from about 1390, and may really be a cenotaph, as it is not quite certain that Sir Guy actually lies beneath it. The effigy shows him clad in full armour, his feet on a lion couchant. The tomb is a fine specimen of its class, but its art is somewhat heavy and not at the level of that of the Lady Elizabeth. The central boss of the chapel vault should be examined. It represents the Coronation of the Virgin.

St. Edmund's Chapel, the next to the eastward, is peculiarly noteworthy, being divided into two apses by a re-entrant angle. Apparently it was dedicated in

the beginning to two saints. The bosses are especially interesting, since they deal in part with the martyrdom of Eadmund, the last king of East Anglia, murdered by the Vikings in 870. That the emotional barbarians presently became his devoted worshippers is quite in keeping with heathen morality—the reader will remember how the five "Lords" of the Philistines propitiated Jehovah with great gifts, attributing to Him the epidemic which had broken out among them. I fancy that to some such motive may be ascribed the powerful addiction of the Danes settled in England to the cult of St. Edmund. One of the bosses in the roof of his chapel shows his crowned head; another, his death, bound to a tree and transfixed by the arrows of his murderers. A third incident is obscure, but seems to show his body cast out to corruption, and watched by a faithful hound, which a Dane is approaching to slay. The central boss has no connection with the martyrdom, but is quite unique in fancy, showing a lion being borne down by a crowd of other animals. I suspect that this is a direct historical allusion. The heraldic bosses here all bear the arms of the Despensers; and it is more than probable that the central one testifies to the feudal hatred felt towards the destroyers of Edward II.'s favourites by their descendants.

Between the eastern part of the chapel and the ambulatory is the magnificent tomb called Abbot Wakeman's Cenotaph. If anything be more certain than another, it is that it has nothing to do with Wakeman, who became the first Bishop of Gloucester and was buried at Forthampton. Moreover, it has no

appearance of having been built anywhere near his time. It appears to be as early as the end of the XIVth century, or perhaps even earlier; it has much more of the spirit of Decorated Gothic about it than of Perpendicular. As a conception it is unsuccessful: the inner ogee arch is cumbrous and heavy, altogether too ponderous for the delicious panel beneath the pier. The effigy is frankly horrible and the product of a diseased imagination: it represents the corpse of an ecclesiastic in a state of putrefaction, devoured by small reptiles.

Opposite to this tomb, behind the altar, is the iron grating giving entrance to the Clarence vault, where in 1477 were laid to rest Prince George Plantagenet, Duke of Clarence, the wayward and unprincipled brother of Edward IV., and his wife Isabelle Neville, the eldest daughter of Warwick, "the king-maker." She died at Warwick at the end of 1476, and was buried in the vault on February 8th, 1477. Ten days later the remains of her husband were laid beside her. The miserable prince, whom no one could trust, was barely twenty-nine years of age when he met his violent end in the Tower; Duchess Isabelle was not twenty-five.

Even when one is intimately acquainted with the manners and customs of the XVIIIth century it is somewhat astounding to learn that in 1709 a local alderman appropriated this royal tomb for the interment of his presumptuous self and his insignificant family! The vault was identified in 1826, and three years later the intrusive dead were removed. There is a Latin epitaph in the pavement above giving the names

of the duke and duchess and the dates of demise, followed by a Latin couplet:

> Macte veni sicut sol in splendore,
> Mox subito mersus in cruore.

Which may thus be Englished:

> I came in my might like the splendid sun:
> Soon, drowned in my blood, my course was run.

It is not very appropriate, for assuredly there was nothing splendid or mighty about George Plantagenet; while the wife is entirely omitted.

Of the two south-eastern chapels the easternmost is considered to be that of the Holy Faith ("St. Faith"). Next to it is one whose dedication is unknown. Its special interest is that beneath its beautiful vault are gathered all the architectural fragments which could be found at the time ot the Restoration. There are bases of statues, showing by the inscriptions that they portrayed Earl Robert and his son William; fragments of sepulchral effigies, one of them, with an inverted torch, being supposed to represent Earl Gilbert de Clare, the last of his race, who fell at Bannockburn, turning back in a last wild effort to save the fortune of the day.

The third chapel on this side is entered by a door, and is not open to the ambulatory like the others. It is now the vestry, and probably was so used in monastic times. The windows are high up on the south side, which is a trilateral apse. The entrance doorway is a Decorated arch of peculiarly graceful outline with ornamented ball-flower moulding.

Across the outlet of the museum chapel is the sepulchre of Abbot Richard Cheltenham (1481–1509), a Perpendicular table-tomb with a depressed arcaded canopy. Opposite to it, across the ambulatory, are two more tombs, one of which, though now much mutilated, must once have been of remarkable beauty. There is some reason to believe that it is that of Hugh le Despenser, the younger favourite of Edward II. He was hanged and quartered at Hereford, but apparently his family were allowed to bury some of his dismembered remains. On the slab now reposes a coffin of Purbeck marble, that of a certain "Johannes Abbas," believed to be John Cotes (died 1347). The tomb next to it is of the xvth century, but cannot be identified.

On the eastern side of the vestry door is another abbatial tomb, not unlike that of Aymer de Valence at Westminster, though simpler. The flanking pinnacles have grotesque heads at the corners instead of conventional foliage as is usual. To the west are two tombs. The first, which is a very simple Early English monument, is that of Abbot Alan (1187–1202), a friend of Thomas à Becket, and, previous to his translation to Tewkesbury, Prior of St. Saviour's Monastery at Canterbury. Alongside is a more ornate and later sepulchre, with pinnacles and a crocheted canopy-arch. The sarcophagus has vanished, but the tomb might be that of Robert Forthington (1232–1254) or Thomas de Stokes (1254–1275).

On the south-east pier of the tower lovers of English literature will pause to look upon the tablet, not

THE EXQUISITE BEAUCHAMP CHANTRY OR "WARWICK" CHAPEL IN TEWKESBURY ABBEY-CHURCH

It was erected in 1422 by Isabelle le Despenser, Countess of Warwick, to the memory of her first husband, Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Worcester.

especially interesting otherwise, to the memory of Mrs. Craik, the author of *John Halifax, Gentleman*, who is believed to have written part of that celebrated work of fiction while staying at the "Bell" Inn.

And now, having completed the circuit of the building, it will be well to turn to the chapels and tombs of the choir.

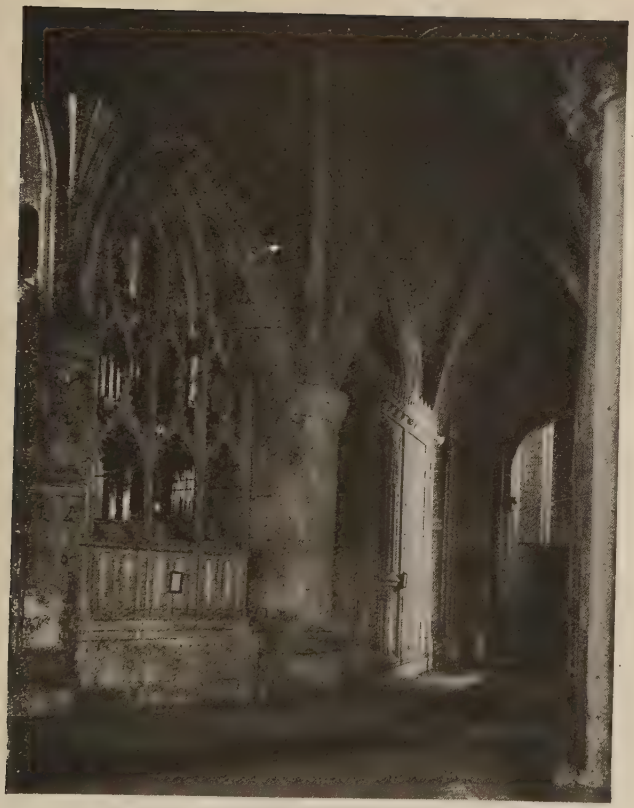
On the north side are two lovely chantries and a splendid tabernacle-tomb, each in its own way without superior in the land. That on the left—that is, farthest to the west—is the most splendid of the three, if not the most beautiful. It is a gorgeous example of Perpendicular screening, vaulting, and canopy work, and was built in 1422 by Isabelle le Despenser, Countess of Warwick, to the memory of her first husband, Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Worcester, one of the comrades of Henry V. during his campaigns in France. Earl Richard fought at Agincourt and was slain at the siege of Meaux in 1421. His widow was then only twenty-one years of age. She dedicated the exquisite little building to St. Mary the Magdalen. Its construction is curious, for it has not only a main roof, but a lower one, which covers the western lower portion of the chapel. The upper one is a marvellous piece of ornate vaulting, of which the only valid criticism is that it is perhaps too bewilderingly rich. The escutcheons which decorate the chapel are a lesson in English heraldry.

Countess Isabelle, it might be said, presently contracted a second marriage with a second Richard Beauchamp, cousin of her first husband, and one of the greatest of the group of captains who, after the

death of Henry V., long upheld the English cause in France. He eventually died at Rouen in 1439, as Regent of the English possessions in that country, and was buried in the Beauchamp Chapel at Warwick, which is obviously a development of this at Tewkesbury. His countess died shortly after she had brought her husband's body home, and was laid to rest in Tewkesbury Abbey.

Next to the "Warwick Chapel," as it is called—the Beauchamp Chantry as it should properly be termed—is the smaller but more chastely beautiful Founder's Chapel, erected in 1397 by Abbot Parker over the tomb of Robert Fitz-Hamo, who, so far as is known, after his busy life in peace and war, still rests beneath, in the grave made for him by Abbot Forthington. The chantry is one of the best examples of the Perpendicular style in existence. The outlines of the arches are singularly pure; and the decoration is as restrained as it is beautiful. The fan tracery of the ceiling is admirable, and the effect of severe grace is completed by the crested parapet of conventional oak leaves.

Beyond the Founder's Chapel is perhaps the most beautiful tabernacle-tomb in England, that of Sir Hugh le Despenser, who died in 1349, and his widow who followed him to the grave ten years later. The effigies of both rest upon the bier; that of Sir Hugh furnishes a complete commentary upon knightly armour in the middle of the XIVth century, with its mingling of mail and plate, the basinet helmet as yet without a visor. His head rests upon his tourneying helm, his feet upon a lion couchant. By his side lies



THE TOMB OF SIR HUGH LE DESPENSER IN THE NORTH CHOIR AISLE OF TEWKESBURY ABBEY-CHURCH

It is one of the most perfect of all the tabernacle-tombs in this country, and dates from the middle of the XIVth century.

his wife with the flowing dress and square head-dress of the period, her feet upon a couching hound. Lady le Despenser, who after the death of her first husband married Sir Guy de Brien, was born Elizabeth de Montacute. She was the daughter of William de Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, the friend of Edward III., by his wife Katharine de Grandisson, the legendary heroine of the Order of the Garter. The grace and charm of the monument are remarkable, the delicate enrichments of the arcades almost fairylike. Finally, the tomb is as a whole an admirable conception. The tabernacle crown tapers gracefully and not too suddenly to the topmost pinnacle.

Nearly opposite on the other side of the altar is the TRINITY CHAPEL, ascribed to Elizabeth Burgersh, the wife of Edward, Baron le Despenser, who died at Cardiff in 1375, a young man, leaving a son two years old to inherit the greatness and ill-fortune of his house, and fall a victim to the Civil Wars of 1399–1400. The last male scion of this great baronial family was his little son Richard, who died in 1414.

The chapel is remarkably like that of Fitz-Hamo directly opposite, and possesses its distinguishing quality of severe grace, with even more of delicate charm, though on the whole it may not be so successful. The fan tracery is especially noticeable. A peculiar and rare feature is that it is crowned by a small tabernacle canopy beneath which is the effigy of Lord le Despenser, in armour, kneeling in prayer with face turned towards the altar.

In front of the altar beneath the pavement lie many

lords and ladies of the great families who took pride in adorning and enriching their abbey-church. Several of them are identifiable, and others are known to exist.

In front of the Warwick Chapel sleeps Maud de Burgh, the wife of Gilbert III. de Clare, who fell at Bannockburn, and beside her lies her chivalrous young husband, whose mangled corpse was returned for burial by the victorious King Robert. Next to Gilbert III. is his father, Gilbert II., the Red Earl. A little beyond is the grave of Gilbert I., the sixth earl, and beside it that of Richard his son, the father of Gilbert the Red.

Nearer to the altar are buried side by side three le Despensers—Thomas, Earl of Gloucester, beheaded in 1400 for raising revolt against Henry IV. in favour of Richard II.; his young son Richard, the last male scion of his house; and his daughter Isabelle, Countess of Worcester and afterwards of Warwick. Elizabeth Lady le Despenser and her husband are buried near the Trinity Chapel. In the centre of the choir rest the mortal remains of the strenuous warrior and administrator who was Isabelle le Despenser's second spouse, and finally, somewhere beneath the tower is the tomb of Edward, Prince of Wales, the ill-fated son of Henry VI. and Marguerite d'Anjou. Truly is St. Mary's of Tewkesbury exalted among English churches, for hardly one possesses so great an assemblage of baronial tombs and beautiful monuments to the memory of the dead.

CHAPTER V

DEERHURST AND BERKELEY

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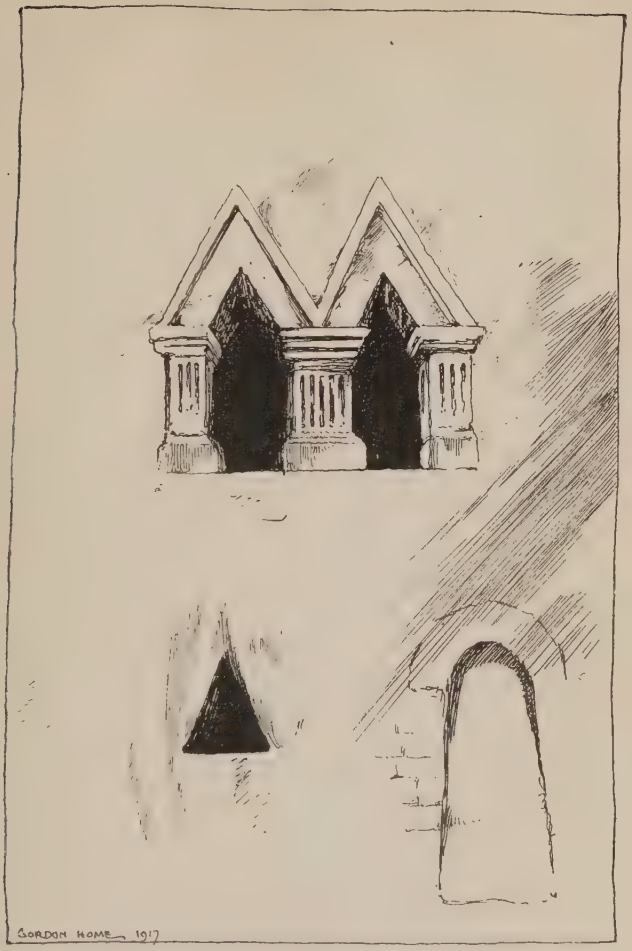
DEERHURST PRIORY-CHURCH

Some three miles distant from Tewkesbury, and in one respect even more interesting than the great abbey-church, is the priory of Deerhurst—a name which has nothing to do with deer but is derived from the Old English *Deor*, a wild beast. The village lies on the road from Gloucester to Worcester not far from the Severn: it thus occupies what might, at any time in the agitated Middle Ages, become an important position. Such, in fact, it seems to have been in 1016, when King Edmund "Ironside" and Cnut, the Dane, met to make peace on the Isle of Olney, which is said to be the meadow called the Naight, close to Deerhurst. Edmund, as is known, retreated to the west after his defeat at Assandune by Cnut, and there rallied a fresh army and prepared to renew the struggle. Both armies were, however, weary of the murderous war, and presently the two kings came to an agreement. It looks very much as if Edmund had marched forth from Gloucester and taken post at Deerhurst ready to

meet the Dane, if he should strike either at Gloucester or Worcester.

There is documentary evidence, in the form of a written grant, which shows that the priory was in existence as early as 804, and tradition has much to say regarding its tribulation at the hands of the Danes. There is no reason to question the general accuracy of these traditions, for the Danish hordes which almost succeeded in overthrowing Alfred in 872 were in Gloucestershire for a long year, and probably left little undamaged or unplundered. But the institution recovered, and in 1054 was enormously well-dowered in lands. Edward the Confessor transferred it as a priory to the French abbey of St. Denis, and its palmy days were over. It was a bone of contention between kings and popes, and presently, of course, between England and France. Edward I. would not tolerate so many alien monastic establishments upon English soil, and in 1295 sequestrated the property of Deerhurst. Not until 1399 did it obtain at last a little peace, Henry IV. making an agreement that, in the event of war with France, the priory should pay its revenues into the English treasury instead of to St. Denis. With, at last, a settled status there was a good deal of building, the greater part of the domestic edifices being then re-erected. But in 1422 the Government of Henry VI. appropriated the property. Henry later on divided it between Tewkesbury and Eton School, and Deerhurst became a very small establishment dependent upon the abbey.

By far the most important building is the priory-



PRE-NORMAN DETAILS OF THE WEST END OF THE NAVE OF DEERHURST PRIORY-CHURCH

church. Its interest is that it is in great part an ancient English edifice, though all kinds of additions, often poor in taste, have been added to the "Saxon" core. Originally it must have been a tall narrow oblong building with an apsidal chancel, two transepts, and a curious oblong tower built round about it, and communicating with it only by narrow doors. Its appearance must have resembled that of the famous church at Brixworth near Northampton, though at Brixworth there is an unique turret in advance of and built against the western tower. From the XIIth to the XVth centuries this gaunt-looking building was much enlarged. North and south aisles were built on to the central nucleus, and Early English arcades pierced in the "Saxon" walls to connect them with it. Their architecture was presently remodelled, and later still much was destroyed or allowed to decay.

Externally the church is hardly picturesque. The aisles are not pleasing: the tower is plain and bleak. For half its height it is the work of ancient English builders; above this it is probably of the XIIIth century or even later. Its Saxon walls are not perpendicular, but have a slight though perceptible batter.

The entrance is by a XIVth-century doorway inserted in the original semicircular arch. Within is a round-headed doorway, passing through which the visitor finds himself in a very tall and narrow nave-chancel, plain and undecorated, but with, on either hand, three Early English archways of pure and graceful outline. The details are admirable and avoid monotony; the sculpture of the capitals of the grouped columns is

carefully varied. The aisles also have great interest. That on the south is the earlier, and shows remains of its original Transitional Norman architecture.

The north aisle is about a century later, but was evidently modelled on its sister. The windows are Decorated and all are different. The western window of the south aisle is also Decorated; but the rest are square-headed Perpendicular openings which distress the eye. They were thrust up thus high against the roof in order not to interfere with the cloisters, but the effect has been most unfortunate.

The west end of the nave is the most interesting portion. Here we have the high narrow ancient English wall almost as when it was fresh from the hand of the masons. It is pierced by the plain round-headed entrance doorway. Above it are two narrow windows, now built up, unsymmetrically placed in the wall. Between them is a triangular opening, and above all a most unusual double lancet; the heads not arched, but formed by stones meeting at an acute angle as at Monkwearmouth. Above this remarkable window is an oblong block of stone with its corners touching the heads of the twin-lights. It has been suggested, with considerable probability, that this was originally painted. In its primitive condition the appearance of this wall must have been very peculiar and, perhaps, unique.

In the north aisle is a brass, of date 1400, to the memory of Sir John Cassy, a chief baron of the Exchequer, and his wife Alicia. The chief baron is shown in full dress: his feet rest upon a lion, while

those of Lady Cassy rest upon her dog. The inscription shows that this animal was her pet: its name "Tirri" is engraved upon its side. The appellation seems to have been an invention of the lady's own, for it is difficult to understand "Tirri" as an abbreviation of any proper name. There is apparently only one other instance of a pet's name appearing upon a tomb, and this is thirty-eight years later. It is at Ingham, where the tomb of Sir Bryan de Stapleton and his wife Cecilia has the figure of their dog "Jakke."

There are two other brasses of much later date and of no historic interest. Near by is a stone coffin with a foliated cross upon its cover: it may very well be that of one of the priors of Deerhurst.

THE FONT is most remarkable. It is tub-shaped, of the coarse oolitic Cotswold stone, and completely covered with spiral sculptured decoration. Mr. Westwood (*Archæological Society Journal*) thinks that this ornament is "especially Irish," and it is certainly true that this spiral design is found in the earliest Irish illuminated Scriptural manuscripts, and also those written in England under the direction of the Irish missionaries. I regard the decoration as Celtic rather than especially Irish, and it may well be Anglo-Celtic. Much of so-called Anglo-Saxon decorative art shows a powerful Celtic tradition, and I really see no reason why this font should not have been executed on the spot by native artists following their own artistic impulses.

The font is in two portions—the bowl and the pedestal. The former lay derelict in a farmyard for

many years until, in 1845, it was conveyed to Longdon Church, where it remained till 1870. In that year Miss Strickland of Apperley Court, near Deerhurst, found the pedestal in a garden. She thought that it must belong to the bowl at Longdon, and in exchange for a new font, the Vicar of Longdon restored to Deerhurst that at his own church. There is some question whether the pedestal really belongs to the bowl, but its spiral decoration is precisely similar in design to that of the latter, and its diameter is the same at the base.

Of the domestic buildings a considerable portion remains incorporated into a house adjoining the church. They date for the most part from the last building period in the XIVth–XVth centuries. The most interesting feature is the curious reticulated window beside one of the doors. The cloisters and everything else have disappeared, though their materials are doubtless to be found in the vicinity built up into dwellings and barns.

Not far from the church is an almost perfect Saxon chapel erected, as is now known, in 1056 by Ealdorman Odda, as a memorial to his brother Aelfric, who died at Deerhurst. It is partly incorporated into a half-timbered dwelling-house, but the walls of the nave remain as when they were erected. The church is of the usual early English type, with its chancel separate from the nave and only connected with it by a doorway. Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite[1] says rather absurdly that most small English churches were built on a plan which is

[1] *Archæological Journal*, Vol. LIII.

purely "Scottish." Possibly Mr. Micklethwaite means Irish by Scottish, but in either case he is probably wrong. Scotland took all her ecclesiastical architecture from England, and there is no reason at all to believe that early English architecture owed anything to Ireland. England was building comparatively large and splendid stone churches in the VIIth century—witness Wilfrid's basilica at Hexham—while Bede, an excellent authority, says that such edifices were unknown among the Celts. The probability is that these English churches were planned upon a much older model, which they borrowed from the Romano-Celts among whom they had intruded themselves. Of course, the plan may have drifted to Ireland and then back to England, but that is a very different thing from suggesting that English churches were built upon a model sent from Ireland.

Berkeley Church

The little town of Berkeley, though in itself a sleepy place with hardly a thousand inhabitants, has much more than a passing claim upon the notice of visitors to Gloucestershire. It contains one of the finest and best preserved examples in England of a mediæval baronial castle, to which attaches the memories of a grim tragedy in the history of the famous Plantagenet royal line. It possesses also a church which is a baronial mausoleum, and has at least one feature which renders it very nearly unique among religious edifices in the West of England.

The church stands close by the gates of the castle in which the most hapless and unlucky, though not the worst, of the Plantagenet line met his miserable end. It is regularly orientated east and west, and has nave, aisles, chancel and a north porch, but no tower, that adjunct standing by itself at about sixty yards' distance to the north. Not only this, but it seems probable that it was always so: there is no sign that a belfry of any kind ever formed part of the present building. It is possible that the existing tower occupies the site of a more ancient one, which belonged to a church demolished or allowed to decay when the present Early English edifice was erected. This, however, is surmise: what is certain is that Berkeley Church on its present site has never possessed any attached tower. The detached tower itself, in its existing condition, dates only from 1753, but it seems to be a careful copy of one preceding it.

The absence of a spire or belfry gives appearance of mutilation to the edifice itself, which is unfortunate, for it is a fine example of an Early English parish church. The west front is most impressive, and must originally have been more so. The central doorway is beneath an arch so slightly pointed that at a distance it seems to be rounded, resting upon detached Purbeck marble columns. On each side are narrower blank arches, and the three are surmounted by a triple gable, the central one right-lined, while the flankers have an ogee contour. Above is a fine Early English window of five lancets, with detached Purbeck marble shafts as in the central doorway. Arcade and window are flanked by

powerful buttresses, and the general effect would be admirable but for the fact that the original steep gable has been replaced by a flattened modern one, undignified in itself and detrimental to the harmony of the conception. The front itself and the greater part of the church are considered to have been built by

THE WEST FRONT OF BERKELEY CHURCH

It is a finely carried out conception in very Early English.

Robert Fitz-Hardinge, the first Baron of Berkeley, perhaps about 1170. The Lords of Berkeley were descended from a family of the old English blood, the founder being a certain Harding, the son of Eadnoth, who was Marshal or "Staller" of Edward the Confessor. A study of dates makes it probable that this Harding had a son of the same name—perhaps the man who played a distinguished part in the Crusading Wars, helping King Baldwin I. of Jerusalem to win the Battle of

Jaffa in 1102. The son of Harding the Crusader would then be Robert I. of Berkeley, the builder of the church.

The interior of the building is impressive and pleasing. The nave consists of seven Early English bays: the chancel is of considerable length for a parish church. The screen which separates chancel from nave has been to some extent restored, but retains much of the original work, and is of great interest from the many armorial shields which appear upon it, displaying the family connection of the Lords of Berkeley.

On the south side of the chancel is the Berkeley Chapel, built in 1450 by James I., tenth Lord of Berkeley. It is closed up and glassed in, so that a satisfactory view is not obtainable. Its interior is extremely ornate, the groined roof being especially fine; the armorial shields of the family are displayed by angels. One of the buttresses of this chapel is surmounted by a pinnacle which bears a figure of St. George *on foot* in armour fighting the dragon. The conception is curious and may, without hesitation, be ascribed to recognition of the standard English military practice of the day, by which the knights and men-at-arms dismounted in battle, and stood to receive the cavalry charge of the French in close ranks flanked by archers.

In the chancel is buried Edward Jenner, the introducer of vaccination, who was a native of Berkeley and died in the house adjoining the church, which is now the vicarage, on January 24th, 1823. The east window, with its appropriate subject of Christ healing the sick, was erected to his memory by public subscrip-

LORD THOMAS OF BERKELEY'S TOMB IN BERKELEY CHURCH

He died in 1361, and it was into his keeping that Edward II. was placed. He does not seem to have been associated with the king's murder, which occurred in the castle close to the church.

tion, and in the garden of the vicarage there still stands a little rustic shed in which Jenner vaccinated those who were willing to undergo inoculation.

There are on the walls several ancient paintings representing Scriptural subjects, but they are considerably restored. Of greater historic interest is the Roman brick in the south wall of the nave, with the letters B.C.L.V.I. stamped upon it. It has been interpreted as indicating the presence at Berkeley of the 6th Legion or part of it—but this theory is, to say the best, highly improbable. No known bricks of Sexta Victrix bear any such inscription, and it is extremely unlikely that any fraction of it was ever stationed at Berkeley.

In the nave is the tomb of Thomas III., seventh Baron of Berkeley, and his second wife. He is in armour of about 1350, of mixed mail and plate: the lady wears a curious head-dress almost covering the face. This Lord Thomas, who died in 1361, was the baron to whom the custody of the hapless Edward II. was confided. He was by tradition an enemy of the deposed king, his father Maurice II. having died in prison as a rebel, but it is fairly certain that he was not concerned in the murder of September 21st: on the contrary, it would seem that he was quietly got out of the way and superseded by Thomas Gurney, when Queen Isabella and her paramour Mortimer decided upon the death of the wretched ex-monarch. His son Maurice III. fought at the Battle of Poictiers and, owing to his headlong courage, managed to get himself captured—one of the *two* prisoners whom on that disastrous day France could show against the long list of 1959 nobles

and men-at-arms taken by the Black Prince, in addition to King John II. and his young son, Philip the Brave. Maurice de Berkeley paid a heavy price for his foolhardiness, for his dexterous French opponent ran him through both thighs, and his ransom, according to Froissart, was 6000 nobles—a sum, I think, quite incredible, though doubtless the shrewd Picard, Jean de Helennes, made a good bargain, and Fitz-Hardinge's pride would not permit him to offer a small price for his liberty.

In the churchyard are two graves to natives of Berkeley of the name of Pearce. One, Thomas, died in 1665, after having been five times mayor of the little borough. The other was Richard Pearce, apparently jester to the Earl of Suffolk, who died in 1728. His rhyming epitaph has been attributed, without any very solid reason, to Swift.

Here lies the Earl of Suffolk's Fool,
Men called him Dicky Pearce;
His folly served to make folks laugh,
When wit and mirth were scarce.
Poor Dick, alas, is dead and gone,
What signifies to cry?
Dickys enough are still behind
To laugh at bye and bye.

In the Cathedral-like Nave of Cirencester Church
On the northern side appears the Chapel of St. Catherine.

CHAPTER VI

CIRENCESTER, NORTHLEACH, ELKSTONE AND FAIRFORD

Brasses to William Prelatte in Cirencester Church

He was a special benefactor to Trinity Chapel and died in 1462. On either side are brasses of his wives wearing the mitred headdress of the latter half of the xvth century.

CHAPTER VI

CIRENCESTER, NORTHLEACH, ELKSTONE AND FAIRFORD

Cirencester Church

Cirencester (which is pronounced "Cisseter" or "Cicester" — sometimes even "Sister") is, without any doubt, the town of most ancient renown in Gloucestershire. It must very early have been a place of importance, for in the most flourishing period of Roman rule its walls enclosed an area of 240 acres, making it the largest town in the dominion with the exception of London. It seems from the first to have been the chief town of the tribe of the Dobuni, and in the IVth century it is highly probable that it was the capital of the province of Britannia Prima, one of the four into which Britain was organised by Diocletian. No scientific excavations have ever been carried out, but the line of the walls and the amphitheatre are easily to be distinguished, and relics of Roman times are always coming to light.

The importance of the Romano-British city quite conceivably arose from its situation in the midst of a wealthy agricultural and pastoral district. In any case the artistic and architectural fragments which

have been found testify to a very respectable degree of wealth and prosperity. The history of Romano-British Cirencester (Corinium—probably pronounced Chorinium or Churnium) is, however, a blank. There has been discovered a tablet, which indicates that at one time there was a reaction there against the officially predominant Christianity; and this may have been in the reign of Julianus IV. "the Apostate"—that great-nephew of Constantine the Great who strove vainly to break away from his predecessor's policy. But otherwise nothing is known of the history of the Romano-British city except its capture and probable destruction in 577 (or 582) by Ceawlin the West Saxon after the Battle of Deorham. But though this event was the death-blow to a prosperity which must even then have been a shadow of its former self, the town continued to be a place of importance throughout the Middle Ages, and its situation at the junction of several indestructible

HEAD OF A ROYAL PRINCE

Of about the times of Henry V. and VI., perhaps Richard, Duke of York, in the glass of the west window of Cirencester Church.

Roman roads brought it several times into the turbid stream of history.

The most stirring event with which it was connected was in January 1400, when a revolt was raised against the usurper-king Henry IV. by the friends of Richard II., who was then still alive, a captive in Pontefract Castle. It was headed by Prince Edward, Earl of Rutland, afterwards Duke of York, cousin of King Richard, the Earls of Kent and Huntingdon, his cousins by marriage, the Earl of Salisbury, and Lord Despenser. They almost succeeded in surprising Henry at Windsor, but Edward of Rutland betrayed his associates, and they then halted at Colnbrook, and fled through Wallingford, Abingdon and Farringdon to Cirencester—a ride of more than fifty miles. Dead-beat, their followers dropped down to sleep in the villages about, while Kent and Salisbury, with Lord Lumley, entered the town and put up at the King's Head.

The tyranny of Richard during his last years had been bitterly resented in all the towns of England, and nowhere more than in Cirencester, whose inhabitants resolved to take a daring step and crush their oppressor's friends once and for all. In the dead of night they secretly gathered under arms, stormed the inn, and captured the three lords and most of their followers. Some few escaped to their companions outside, but, though they were 1000 knights and men-at-arms strong, they were utterly cowed by the bold action of the "cowardly clerks and mean mechanics"; and, instead of attacking the town, dispersed and fled to all points of the compass; Kent's

chaplain alone made a desperate attempt to save the captured lords. He managed to fire Cirencester in several places, his idea being that the townsmen would break up to extinguish the flames, and in the confusion the prisoners would escape.

It fell out exactly opposite to the calculations of the too ingenious priest. The men of Cirencester saw their houses burning, and terrible was their fury. They might not be able to save their property, but those who had inspired the destruction should surely perish. They dragged the three barons out of the abbey, where they were confined, into the market-place and beheaded them then and there. The revolt collapsed, and Henry as a token of his gratitude to his good town of Cirencester granted, among other things, four does a year to the men and six bucks to the women.

Cirencester shared in the prosperity of other towns in the Cotswold region during the XVth and XVIth centuries. During the Great Civil War it suffered much. Its sympathies were with Parliament, but it was captured in 1643 by Prince Rupert, who thrust his 1100 prisoners into the church, kept them there for two days without food, and then dragged them to Oxford, bound together and driven along the snow-bound roads at the sword's point. Late in the same year the Parliamentarians had their revenge. Charles was besieging Gloucester, and at Cirencester had been collected a convoy of forty waggons laden with provisions for the use of his army. But on September 6th Essex raised the siege, and Charles retreated to the northward to be ready to bar the homeward march of

Essex, who had come over the north end of the Cotswolds and was expected to return by the same route. Nobody on the Royalist side seems to have imagined that he could at times rise to the occasion, or that the ever "grousing" Londoners could both march and fight. Essex, just as Charles and Rupert expected, marched northward to Tewkesbury—and then suddenly vanished, to their intense discomfiture. The fact was that he had struck away to the southward and was aiming for London by the road across Wiltshire.

In the early morning of September 15th the vanguard burst into Cirencester, killed and captured the entire Royalist garrison, and seized the precious convoy—just in time, for the army was starving. The prisoners were kept all night in the church, and next morning were carried off, with the food, by the retreating army. The captured convoy supported the hungry Londoners until they reached Newbury; so it may be said to have won the battle—certainly starving men would have been unable to make the desperate fight which they did: they would have been borne down by brute force.

The church thus experienced rude handling from both sides during the great national struggle, but today it displays little sign of it. It is one of the largest in the West, and its tower rises nobly above the clean prosperous-looking town with its wide market-place. It has a nave with two aisles and a north chapel; a chancel with one south aisle and two north aisles, and a large and unique south porch.

The south porch is the latest part of the great church; the tower dates from about 1400; the nave and its aisles must, judging by the style, have been completed about a century later. But the chancel and its aisles are much earlier, the style being very clearly Decorated, though with Perpendicular additions and insertions. This indicates that the town's mediæval prosperity probably began in the reign of Edward I. or a little later.

The nave is extremely imposing and cathedral-like: the contour of the arches is good, if not especially inspiring; and the great height of the clustered piers is a remarkable feature. At the springing of the arches are figures with shields bearing the arms of those who contributed to the building of the church. A noble arch gives access to the lower stage of the tower. The roof is of wood and is a fine example of those rich timber vaults and ceilings of which that of St. David's Cathedral is perhaps the most beautiful. Many of the mouldings and other enrichments deserve careful study; they display much fanciful variety.

THE "'VICE" OF CIRENCESTER.—Unquestionably the most curious portion of the church is the great south porch, the "'Vice" as it was called—an undoubted abbreviation of the Middle English word "device," meaning contrivance. The use of the term seems to show that while the Cirencestrians admired the addition to their church, they had no conception of its purpose, which is, indeed, difficult to ascertain. As a porch it is hardly necessary, and it certainly spoils the symmetry of the building. The word puzzles me;

CIRENCESTER CHURCH FROM THE EAST

it seems at least possible that this peculiar semi-detached structure was erected against the south aisle in order to protect it against a collapse. There is evidence, in the enormous shoring buttresses which support and disfigure the tower, that the building was at one time insecure.

The "'Vice" seems once to have been the meeting-place of the Trade Guilds of Cirencester, and it may be that they combined business with beneficence by subscribing funds for the erection of a fine building, which might at once serve their purposes and sustain the endangered stability of the church of which all were proud. On the other hand, it may have been nothing but the outcome of munificent ostentation. It is a magnificent building, but has no artistic or architectural connection with the body of the church, and certainly no ecclesiastical appearance.

Externally the "'Vice" is a two-storeyed edifice in Late Perpendicular style. The front which faces the market-place is built in three unequal bays, separated by buttresses of three insets, with an elaborated niche on each stage. The westward bay is much narrower than the others, so that the front has an odd unsymmetrical aspect. In the centre bay is a principal doorway, with a small one in each of the flanking bays, and above are six oriel windows in two tiers. The sides are covered with blind arcading, and the whole structure is crowned by an open parapet and pinnacles. The general appearance is rich, but rather irregular and bizarre.

Whatever the original purpose of the "'Vice," it was in 1672 granted to Cirencester for use as a town-

hall by Bishop Nicholson of Gloucester, and as a town-hall it was used until the completion of new municipal buildings in the xxth century. The apartment above the gateway was the court-chamber. It forms a very sumptuous setting for the fathers of this little provincial town of ancient fame, with its Late Perpendicular arcades and panelled roof, while the xviiith-century woodwork of the magisterial platform is also good and not altogether inharmonious with the Perpendicular architecture, the centre panel being especially rich.

The person principally responsible for the erection of the "'Vice" was Alice Avening, sister of the mother of Thomas Ruthall, Bishop of Durham (1509–1523), who was born at Cirencester. Ruthall, who was a friend and companion of Wolsey, played a considerable part in the early years of the reign of Henry VIII. as a hard-working official. He took a prominent part in organising the defence of the North against the Scottish invasion of 1513, and his letters afford much useful information regarding the campaign of Flodden. Ruthall was in 1516 made Keeper of the Privy Seal, an office which he retained to his death. He was not unmindful of his birthplace, and so liberally increased the endowment of the Grammar School that he is sometimes described as the founder, though that honour really belongs to Bishop Chedworth of Lincoln (1460).

The special interest of the church lies in its numerous chapels, which assist largely to give it its cathedral-like appearance and feeling. They became eventually

THE OLD COURT ROOM ABOVE THE GREAT SOUTHERN PORCH OF CIRENCESTER CHURCH

The porch which was known as the 'Vice (the shortened form of Device) was, in 1672, given to Cirencester as a Town Hall.

almost family mausolea. That of St. Catherine is full of monuments of the local family of Cripps, and its windows are also in memory of its members. This chapel has a very beautiful fan-traceried roof, which is a remnant of the vanished glories of the abbey of Cirencester. Inscriptions upon it show that it was built in 1508 by Abbot John Hakebourne: it was probably bought by the townsfolk at the dissolution of the monastery and transferred to this chapel, which was lengthened to receive it.

On the north side of St. Catherine's Chapel is the Lady Chapel, a Late Perpendicular structure of little distinction, the piers and arches being rather poor and weak, but with a fine wooden ceiling. Beneath it is the XIIIth-century charnel-vault, into which the bones of the dead were removed from the churchyard when the latter became overcrowded — a mediæval custom more peculiar than pretty. There is a squint or "hagioscope," and this is not the only one in Cirencester Church.

Next to St. Catherine's is the chapel of St. Mary; it contains traces of a wall-painting of the Last Judgment and the imposing monument of Humphrey Bridges (died 1593) and his wife Elizabeth. The monument was presumably erected by the widow, who survived her husband seventeen years. It shows the pair with their nine children, six of them kneeling, three standing. The standing figures appear to be sons, the kneeling ones the girls. Mr. and Mrs. Bridges were good friends to the poor of Cirencester: he left by will 40s. per annum to them, while Mrs.

Bridges left to six poor widows a house and 26s. a year each.

On the south side of the chancel is St. John's Chapel. Its principal ornament is the Carolean monument of George Monox, his wife and two daughters.

Of the chapels adjoining the nave that which will attract the greatest attention will be the chapel of The Holy Trinity, which for five generations has been the mausoleum of the Bathurst family, though some of the Cripps also lie within it. The chapel extends along three of the bays of the nave, and its general appearance is one of great magnificence and considerable beauty, the arcades and windows being admirable in outline and decoration.

The earliest of the Bathurst monuments is that to Allen, first Earl Bathurst, who died in 1775. His fame rests chiefly upon his connection with the great literary figures of his age. He was a high and consistent Tory, but no shining figure in politics: his chief renown in the world of politics was the rather dubious one of having been created in 1712, at the age of 27, one of the twelve peers called into being by Harley's Tory Ministry in order to swamp the Whig majority and conclude the Peace of Utrecht. Their mission was so notorious that when the first question was put to the vote, Lord Wharton rose with a sneer on his face and suggested that there was no need for all the twelve to record their votes—their foreman could do it for all! Bathurst's private life redounded much more to his fame, though not more to his credit, for his honesty was never doubted. He was an enthusiastic

gardener and a friend of almost all the great literary men of his age, beginning with Congreve and ending at the very close of his long life with Sterne. To him Pope addressed his third "Moral Essay on the Use of Riches." He was M.P. for Cirencester in 1705, and his connection with the town ended in 1775 when he was buried in the Trinity Chapel. Near him lies his son Henry, Lord Chancellor—not a very good or efficient one—who died in 1794. The third earl was a more useful public servant than his father and grandfather: he was Secretary of State for War at the time of the Peninsular struggle, and deserves real credit for his work during an anxious period. Like all his house he was a perfect Tory of the True Blue school, and after the passing of the first Reform Act, which he bitterly opposed, he retired from political life.

At various places in the church there are over twenty brasses, often much injured, but few without interest. One, quite unidentifiable, is in St. Mary's Chapel: it seems to be the most ancient of all: most of the others are of the xvth century. One of them commemorates the Rev. Ralph Parsons (1478) in full canonicals, bearing the chalice. Of Parsons another memorial exists in the church in the form of a pulpit cloth made from his cope. It is still in good preservation and is an excellent example of xvth-century brocade executed upon bluish-green velvet.

Of ancient stained glass there are still some collected fragments in the east and west windows.

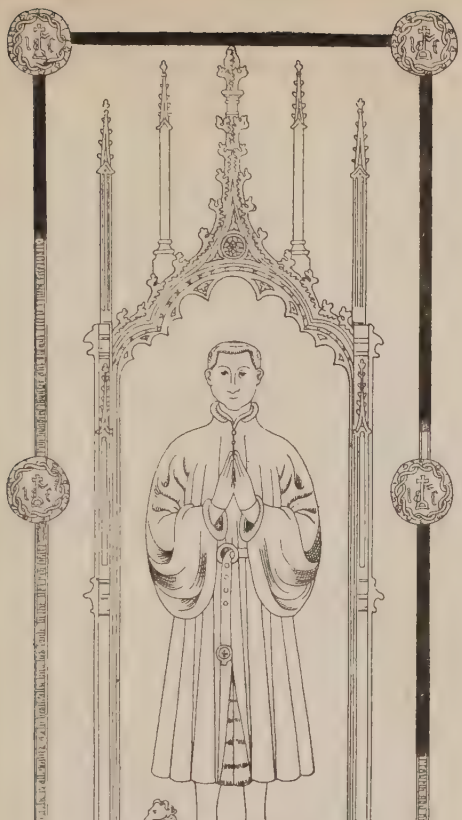
It should be noted that besides its noble town church, Cirencester formerly possessed a famous abbey founded

by Henry I. in 1117. At the Dissolution its revenues were reckoned at nearly £1100 per annum (about £10,000 to £11,000 in values of 1913). In 1416 its abbot was granted a mitre, and a seat in Parliament. At the Dissolution this monastery was so completely destroyed by Roger Basynge, as stipulated in the grant by Henry VIII., that nothing remains except a Norman arch in Grove Lane and a few architectural fragments. In addition there is, as stated above, the probability that the fan-traceried roof of St. Catherine's Chapel was transferred from the abbey.

Northleach Church

Northleach, once a famous clothing town, is to-day a village on the river from which it derives its name, situated in a valley of the Cotswolds amidst open rolling hill-country, the very perfection of sheep-walks. Consequently, in the xvth century it was a celebrated wool-mart, the wool being brought in by the sheep-masters of the Cotswolds to Northleach, and there purchased by factors. Formerly the town contained large warehouses in which the staple commodity of England in those days was stored.

Now that the famous West of England clothing trade is a thing of the past, Northleach is no more than a somewhat diminished and rural-looking little village, but in its midst there rises up imposingly a noble relic of its ancient importance, in the form of a great Perpendicular church, one of those noble edifices which the practical, and perhaps not altogether



BRASS TO JOHN FORTEY, DIED 1458
One of the great wool-staplers of the Cotswolds, in Northleach Church.

disinterested, piety of English commercial magnates erected all the West over during the xvth century. Northleach Church is a noble specimen of its type, and has happily not been injudiciously restored, so that there is little to offend the eye. It has a nave with aisles, and a chancel much lower than the nave; so that at the east end of the latter, above the chancel arch, there is a window. Externally, the great features of the building are: the high embattled tower, which is excellent in design and proportions, and the splendid porch, which may very well be counted among the finest of those belonging to English parish churches. Its appearance is at once massive and graceful—an example of Perpendicular building at its best. It has buttresses not only at the outward corners, but also at the sides, so that its external aspect is that of a chapel of two bays. The side buttresses are plain, but those at the corners are highly elaborated; their faces have tall ornamented niches, from which the statues have, of course, vanished. All four terminate in square pinnacles with curious finials which overhang the sides like a pent-roof. The effect is curious but by no means bizarre. The entrance is by a stately ogee doorway, above which are two niches, one above the other, with twin recesses on either side.

The interior, though impressive, is especially notable for the numerous brasses commemorating the wool-merchants who resided in or frequented the town. Here these ancient trade magnates are portrayed, sometimes alone, sometimes with wives and children, in their furred gowns, their feet resting

upon wool-packs, figures of sheep, fleeces, and pairs of shears. These merchants, be it remembered, were to the full as proud of their activities as any baron could be of his blood, and they took delight in having themselves commemorated by worthy monuments. The dates may seem to indicate the most flourishing period of the industry: the earliest is of the year 1420, and they continue to about the end of the XVIth century. Two of them may be observed with more than antiquarian interest: they are those of John Fortey (died 1458), who paid for the building of the roof of the church. Near him lies his brother Thomas. The south chapel and porch were built by another wool magnate, William Bicknell (died 1498). One of the great factors of Northleach at the end of the XVth century we may almost be said to know well: this was William Midwinter or Mydwyntter, who is frequently mentioned in the letters of the famous wool-dealing firm of Cely of Mark Lane (1475–1488). The industry has vanished: the great wool-factors and clothmakers have long since passed away, and the ancient prosperity of Northleach is dead. But the splendid church survives to bear testimony to the vanished importance of the quiet village among the valleys of the Cotswolds.

Elkstone Church

Interest attaches to the church of St. John the Evangelist at Elkstone, some eight miles north-west of Cirencester, both on account of its architecture and its curious condition, resulting apparently from

unscientific calculation of weights, as was often the case in the early Middle Ages.

The building, to all appearance, dates from the

THE NORMAN CHANCEL ARCH OF ELKSTONE CHURCH

As it appeared in 1804, showing the curious form it had assumed through the giving way of the sides.

first half of the XIIth century, but was enlarged in the Perpendicular period. The original edifice must have been very small, for the chancel is only twelve feet high. It has highly enriched arches; and the east

window is an especially fine example of Late Norman art. The external cornice of the nave is ornamented with sculptured heads, reminding the observer of Kilpeck in Herefordshire. The south doorway is enriched Norman.

The arrangement of the building is peculiar. The chancel has two floors, a second chamber being superposed upon the chancel proper, and access to it provided by means of a staircase. The result of this very unusual addition has been to throw the responds of the chancel completely out of the perpendicular, and also to crush in the vaulting arches. The appearance of the choir is therefore one of peculiar irregularity, almost amounting to chaos.

Fairford Church

Some thirty years ago an enthusiastic writer declared that if any church in England could claim to be called a lantern, a glowing coloured lantern, of sacred art, it must be the church of St. Mary the Virgin in the sequestered Gloucestershire town of Fairford. That is the simple truth. There are larger churches, grander churches, and more beautiful churches than St. Mary's of Fairford, but assuredly there are very few which approach so nearly to the ideal of what a town church should be, and there is none in England which possesses its four-centuries-old painted glass almost intact as when it was first inserted in the traceried windows.

Fairford itself is a really delightful little town lying

in the wooded countryside of eastern Gloucestershire by the side of the Coln, celebrated for its trout-fishing, but likely to be more pleasing to the artist for the quiet beauty of the riverine scenery through which it makes its winding way to the Thames. It consists principally of two long streets with a market-place in the centre—quiet and pretty in these days: in the Middle Ages unquestionably more picturesque, more busy—and probably extremely filthy.

The place was an inhabited village of some size as far back as the IXth century, since it is mentioned in the Charter of 859 by which King Burhred of Mercia endowed the nunnery of Gloucester. In *Domesday Book* it appears as having twenty-one hides, thirty ploughs and three mills. It was then part of the royal estate of Matilda of Flanders, queen of William the Conqueror. From the Crown it passed to the de Clares, then to the Despensers and the Beauchamps, and back to the Crown in the XVth century. It was bought by John Tame, a wealthy wool-stapler, from Henry VII., and doubtless that thrifty monarch drove a good bargain before he parted with the sunny meads and green woodlands of Fairford. Equally certain it is that Master John Tame could afford the price and more, for no sooner was he lord of the manor than he began to spend his wealth lavishly upon the complete rebuilding of the probably ruinous church. The rebuilding was unquestionably the work of a single hand, for all parts of the design are in perfect harmony. The dedication took place in 1493; the munificent builder died in 1500, leaving his name and his estate to his

son Edmund, presently knighted. To Sir Edmund may perhaps be assigned the final completion of the beautiful church, but there is no reason why all should not have been finished before the father was laid to rest beside the altar of his worthy addition to England's mighty store of Perpendicular Gothic art.

Master Tame's architect did not entirely rebuild the old church, for portions of it remain skilfully incorporated into the present edifice.

The aspect of the building is one of perfect harmony, and also of a massive stateliness beyond its comparatively modest dimensions. For that matter, however, this gift of an ordinary English merchant to Mother Church and Mother England is probably as large as the Temple of Solomon, and, I suspect, very much more tastefully beautiful. The description of Solomon's Temple always reminds the writer of the sort of Heaven to which Hood's Miss Kilmansegg would wish to go when she died—gold—gold everywhere—raw, staring, barbaric, irreligious magnificence, instead of the fine careful masonry, beautiful sculpture and lovely painted windows of Fairford's Church of St. Mary, a sacred fane which gives the lie direct to those who would declare that England has never had an art of her own.

The church consists of a nave with aisles, lengthened to form two chapels, one on each side of the choir; a chancel, a tower, and a south porch. The whole is in a perfect state of preservation and looks wonderfully fresh—almost new, indeed—owing to the quality of the stone of which the church is built, and the care

TWO OF THE LOWER LIGHTS OF THE WINDOW OF THE LAST JUDGMENT IN FAIRFORD CHURCH
The fantastic conception of the place of punishment reserved for the condemned is shown with all the vividness of a mediæval imagination.

From "A History of Design in Painted Glass," by N. H. J. Westlake, F.S.A.

with which it was picked before the masons fixed it in place. The best view, I think, is that from the south-east, taking position a little in advance of the churchyard gate. From this standpoint the harmony of all the component parts is most fully appreciated. The grouping of chancel, aisles and porch is good, and the combination of strength and beauty in the tower impresses itself upon the observer. St. Mary's of Fairford is truly a bright gem among English parish churches.

Turning to the details, the south porch is as fine as anything of the kind in the country. It is simple rather than ornate, but of admirable proportion, and attracts by its very simplicity. The necessary touch of decoration is given by the elegantly-canopied niche above the door which once held the statue of St. Mary. In the tower there is the same union of force and beauty. Whoever designed it was in very truth an artist. The comparative plainness of the lower portion is an admirable preparation for the restrained decorative effect of the belfry stage, which in its turn leads the eye upward to the open parapet with its boldly-designed quatrefeuilles, and so to the four double pinnacles which crown the structure.

The impression made by the exterior is deepened when the porch is passed and the interior lies before the visitor. Especially noticeable is the absence of any weakness in the general design. The flattened Late Perpendicular arches are of course open to artistic criticism, but the grouped columns have a forcible massiveness, and there is no trace of that exaggerated

slenderness—"threadiness," if the term may be permitted—which sometimes spoils architecture of the Perpendicular period. The great rectangular bastion-like piers which support the tower look powerful enough to sustain a dome like that of Sancta Sophia; the tall archways between them are solemn and full of dignity. Indeed the eastern end of the nave, with the almost sternly simple arch piercing what has the appearance of a massive pylon, has a grandeur of feeling far beyond its comparatively modest dimensions.

The great glory of Fairford, however, lies in its unrivalled series of stained-glass windows, all dating from the time of the church's building, and all, to this day, nearly intact and very little damaged, though they have passed through a violent Reformation and a four years' Civil War. In the Civil War, Fairford lay in the very path of the contending armies and could hardly hope to escape wrecking or "reformation," as Cromwell grimly calls it, at the hands of the Puritan soldiery. That evil was averted, according to local tradition, by the hasty removal and concealment of the splendid glazing—and though documentary confirmation seems to be lacking, there is much which tends to bear it out. In some of the windows the confused fitting of the glass points to the possibility of its having been reinstated by some uninstructed or unskilful hand. Damage was also done by the terrible storm of 1703. An inartistic restoration early in the XIXth century was followed by a very careful and reverent one in 1888–89, and to-day these superb

THE WEST WINDOW OF THE NAVE OF FAIRFORD CHURCH

The subject is the Last Judgment. The two lower right-hand panels are given on a larger scale on another page.

Reproduced from "A History of Design in Painted Glass," by N. H. J. Westlake, F.S.A.

examples of xvth-century glass-painting appear to be safe for many generations to come.

The glass is all of the late xvth century, and it has been suggested that it is of Flemish workmanship—the name of Albrecht Dürer has even been mentioned in connection with it. This theory does not seem to be well founded. Dürer was a very frank realist, whereas the artist or artists of the Fairford windows followed fairly conventional models. The glass and painting may or may not be Flemish; doubtless Tame, as a leading wool-stapler, often had associations with the Low Countries, but there are many details, such as the royal badges, which appear to point to English workmanship.

There are twenty-eight windows in all. Twelve of them are pictorial, representing subjects of Christian interest, especially the Life of Christ. Twelve portray prophets, apostles, saints, evangelists, and fathers of the Church—forty-four figures in all—while the remaining four show twelve persecutors of Christianity.

The Life of Christ fills seven windows in the north-east, east and south-east of the church, each window containing four or five episodes. Two more on the north side deal with Old Testament episodes and others connected with the life of the Virgin. The series begins with the Temptation of Eve and ends with the Day of Pentecost, forming thus a complete Biblical history in picture form. The three Apostle windows are particularly fine, but two of the figures are restorations. Of the originals, that of St. Peter is quite admirable, full of virility and stateliness, as if

the artist had made a special effort to do justice to the saint who bears the keys of Heaven. The window of the Four Evangelists at the north-west corner is another beautiful example of the xvth-century glass-painters' work. The face of St. Luke is spoiled, but the others are perfect and carefully differentiated, the youthful features of St. John with long curling golden hair contrasting with the grave elderly lineaments of St. Mark.

Yet on the whole the windows of the Prophets outshine those of the Apostles. The figures are often life-like and well drawn, and the faces expressive, an attempt to indicate Hebrew physiognomy being evident in more than one case. Of them all, the stately presentment of David, prophet and king, is perhaps the finest, yet it is only *primus inter pares*.

The twelve persecutors cannot all be identified. The two Herods, the murderer of the Innocents and the slayer of St. James, are plain enough; so are Annas, Caiaphas, and Judas Iscariot; but of the others only Nero can be named, though the rest are probably all Roman emperors. Doubtless there are among them Decius, Valerianus and Diocletian, probably also Julian the Apostate.

The windows of the Saints are not by any means in the best condition, and some figures are disordered. The best and most perfect are those of SS. Dorothea, Sebastian and Agnes. Both the female figures are in fine preservation. At the feet of St. Agnes is her lamb, and the face is so pleasing that it may be a portrait. St. Dorothea carries a basket of flowers—an allusion

to the legend that as she was being taken on a day of frost and snow to her death, a young lawyer named Theophilus jeered at her as the "Bride of Christ," and asked for a bridal gift of roses and apples. The dying girl answered that she would give them when she was with her Saviour. Theophilus saw her die and went home, to be greeted by a heavenly messenger bearing a basket of apples and roses. "Truly," he cried, "this Christ is God!"

The three west windows represent the Judgment of Justice. The subject of that on the left is apparently David directing the execution of the Amalekite who deserted Saul and Jonathan at Mount Gilboa to bring the news of their death to him. To the right is the Judgment of Solomon.

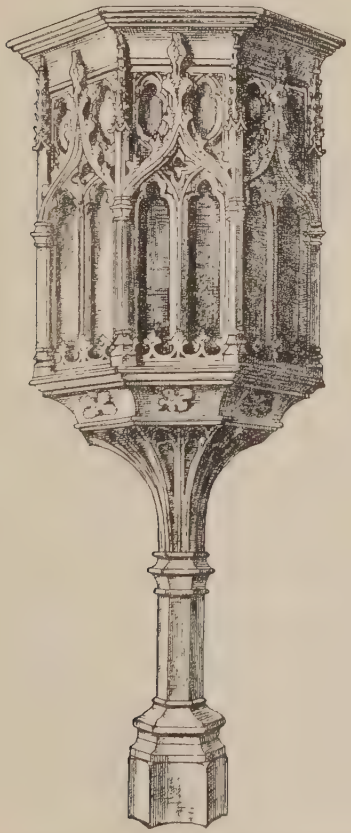
The great central window represents a xvth-century conception of the Last Judgment, and though unfortunately restored in the upper portion, still gives an impression of what it must have been in its prime before the great storm shattered so many of its glowing panes. It is an almost marvellous composition of figures and episodes, dominated by the presentment of the Judge of all mankind enthroned upon a rainbow with His feet upon this transient world. The horrors of Hell are, of course, very much to the fore, and one is compelled to note that female victims appear to predominate—but there are episodes displaying finer feeling and more of the spirit of Christianity. For example, there is the weighing of the good and bad deeds of a soul by St. Michael, a beautifully-featured stately figure in golden armour.

A red devil has jumped into the scale-pan of the bad deeds, but to no purpose, and we know that the anxiously-waiting soul beneath is sure of its reward in Heaven. Whatever spirit may be manifested, the window must once have been a wonderful composition, the most glorious of the lovely series which renders St. Mary's of Fairford unique among the parish churches of England.

Three or four miles to the north, in an exceedingly pretty piece of country bordering on the Cotswolds, is the little village of Quennington, whose church is notable for two Norman doorways. They are north and south of the nave, and each has an exceptionally interesting tympanum, the latter being the more elaborate.

NORMAN TYMPANUM OVER THE SOUTH DOOR OF QUENNINGTON CHURCH

A CHRONOLOGY
OF THE
BUILDING DATES AND THE BISHOPS OF GLOUCESTER



THE PULPIT IN NORTHLEACH CHURCH

A CHRONOLOGY

DATE	ABBOTS AND BUILDING DATES	KINGS AND CURRENT EVENTS
97		Glevum made a Roman Colony by Nerva
582		Glevum taken by English
	ENGLISH ROMANESQUE OR "SAXON"	
681		Osric, sub-king of the Hwiccas, founds a double monastery
823		Beornwulf of Mercia refounds the monastery as a secular canonry
871		ALFRED THE GREAT
896		Alfred at Gloucester
1017		CNUT THE DANE
1022	*Eadric*	Cnut founds a Benedictine Abbey at Gloucester
		HAROLD I.
		HARTHACNUT
1042		EDWARD III., "The Confessor"
	ROMANESQUE FIRST "NORMAN" SCHOOL	
1058	*Wulfstan*	
	New Church commenced	
1066		WILLIAM I., "The Conqueror"
1072	*Serlo*	
1086		William at Gloucester
1087		WILLIAM II., "Rufus"
1089	Present Church begun	
1093		William II. at Gloucester
1099		William at Gloucester

ROMANESQUE SECOND NORMAN SCHOOL (ENRICHED)

DATE	ABBOTS AND BUILDING DATES	KINGS AND CURRENT EVENTS
1100	Church dedicated	HENRY I.
1104	*Peter* Monastery completed	
1113	*William Godeman*	
1122	Great Fire	
1131	*Walter de Lacy*	
1135		STEPHEN
1139	*Gilbert Foliot*	Gloucester capital of Empress Maud
1148	*Hamelin*	
1154		HENRY II.
1170	Fall of a Tower	Murder of Thomas à Becket

TRANSITIONAL NORMAN (ROMANESQUE-GOTHIC)

1179	*Thomas de Carbonel*	

EARLY ENGLISH GOTHIC

1189		RICHARD I.
1199		JOHN
1205	*Henry Blond*	
1215		Magna Carta
1216		HENRY III. Crowned at Gloucester
1217	Eastern Tower built	Hubert de Burgh, Regent
1224	*Thomas de Bredon* Lady Chapel	
1228	*Henry Foliot*	
1243	*Walter de St. John* Gothic alterations in Nave	
1243	*John de la Feld* South-west Tower rebuilt	
1258		Simon de Montfort
1263	*Reginald de Homme*	
1265		Death of Simon at Evesham
1272		EDWARD I.

DECORATED GOTHIC

DATE	ABBOTS AND BUILDING DATES	KINGS AND CURRENT EVENTS
1284	*John de Gamages*	
1295		Organisation of Parliamen
1306	*John Thokey* South Aisle of Nave rebuilt	
1307		EDWARD II.
1327		EDWARD III.
1329	*John de Wygmore* began to transform Transepts	
1336		Hundred Years' War begin
1337	*Adam de Staunton* Continued transformation	
1349		THE BLACK DEATH

PERPENDICULAR GOTHIC (*circa* 1350)

1357	*Thomas Horton* completed Perpendicular transformation and began Cloister	
1377	*John Boyfield* continued Cloister	RICHARD II.
1381	*Walter Froucester* finished Cloister	The Peasants' Revolt
1399		HENRY IV.
1412	*Hugh Moreton*	
1413		HENRY V.
1421	*John Morwent* built South Porch and demolished West Front, building a	
1422	Perpendicular West Front	HENRY VI.
1429-31		Jeanne d'Arc in France
1437	*Reginald Boteler*	
1450	*Thomas Seabroke* began Great Tower	
1453		English driven from Franc
1455		Wars of the Roses
1457	*Richard Hanley* Commencement of Lady Chapel	

DATE	ABBOTS AND BUILDING DATES	KINGS AND CURRENT EVENTS
1461	Completion of Tower	EDWARD IV.
1471		Battle of Tewkesbury
1472	*William Farley*	
	Completion of Lady Chapel	
1483		EDWARD V.
		RICHARD III.
1485		HENRY VII.
	TUDOR GOTHIC	
1492		Columbus reaches West Indies
1498	*John Malvern*	
1499	*Thomas Braunche*	
1509		HENRY VIII.
1510	*John Newton*	
1514	*William Malvern*	
1520		Luther burns Papal Bull
1536		Dissolution of Lesser Abbeys
		The English Bible
1539		Dissolution of Greater Abbeys
		Gloucester a Bishopric
	BISHOPS	
1541	*John Wakeman*	
1547		EDWARD VI.
1550	*John Hooper*	
1553		MARY I.
1554	*James Brookes*	
1555		Martyrdom of Hooper
1558		ELIZABETH
1561	*Richard Cheyney*	
1563		Thirty-Nine Articles
1581	*John Bullingham*	
1588		THE SPANISH ARMADA
1593		Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*
1598	*Godfrey Goldsborough*	
	END OF GOTHIC STYLE	
1603		JAMES I.
1604	*Thomas Ravis*	Peace with Spain
1605		Gunpowder Plot

DATE	BISHOPS AND BUILDING DATES	KINGS AND CURRENT EVENTS
1607	*Henry Parry*	
1611	*Giles Thompson*	
1612	*Miles Smith*	
1620		The Pilgrim Fathers in Massachusetts
1624	*Godfrey Goodman*	
1625		CHARLES I.
1628		The Petition of Right
1640		The Long Parliament
1642		THE GREAT CIVIL WAR
1643		Siege of Gloucester
1649		THE COMMONWEALTH
1653		OLIVER CROMWELL
1658		RICHARD CROMWELL
1660	*William Nicholson*	CHARLES II.
1665		GREAT PLAGUE
1667		Milton's *Paradise Lost*
1670		Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*
1672	*John Prickett*	
1680	*Robert Frampton*	
1685		JAMES II.
1688		Trial of Seven Bishops The Revolution
1689		WILLIAM III. MARY II.
1691	*Richard Fowler*	Conquest of Ireland
1702		ANNE
1707		Union of Great Britain
1714	*Richard Willis*	GEORGE I.
1721	*Joseph Willcocks*	Walpole Prime Minister
1727		GEORGE II.
1731	*Elias Sydall*	
1734	*Martin Benson* Restoration and Repairs	
1738		The Methodists
1752	*William Johnson*	
1759	*William Warburton*	

DATE	BISHOPS AND BUILDING DATES	KINGS AND CURRENT EVENTS
1760		GEORGE III.
1775		REVOLT OF AMERICA
1779	*James Yorke*	Spain joins Allies
1781	*Samuel Hallifax*	
1789	*Richard Beadon*	
1792		FRENCH REVOLUTION
1796		NAPOLEON BONAPARTE
1802	*G. J. Huntingford*	Peace with France
1803		War renewed
1805		TRAFALGAR & AUSTERLITZ
1807		Napoleon supreme in Europe
1808–14		PENINSULAR WAR
1812		NAPOLEONIC CATASTROPHE IN RUSSIA
1813		OVERTHROW OF NAPOLEON
1815	*Henry Ryder*	WATERLOO
1820		GEORGE IV.
1829		Catholic Emancipation
1830	*Christopher Bethell*	WILLIAM IV.
	James Henry Monk	Spread of Railways
1832		FIRST REFORM ACT
1833		Abolition of Colonial Slavery
1837		VICTORIA
1845–9	Restoration begun	Conquest of Punjab
1856	*Charles Baring*	
1857		Indian Mutiny
1861	*William Thomson*	
1863	*Charles John Ellicott*	
1867		Second Reform Act
1870		Education Act
1876		Elementary Education Act
1885		Third Reform Act
1899		Boer War
1900		EDWARD VII.
1905	*E. C. Sumner Gibson*	
1910		GEORGE V.
1914–18		World War
1923	*Arthur Cayley Headlam*	

INDEX

Addison, Joseph, 115
Aelfric, brother of Ealdorman Odda, 140
Aethelflaed, daughter of Alfred the Great, 18 [cia, 18
Aethelred, Ealdorman of Mer-
Aethelstan, King of England, 19
Agincourt, Battle of (1415), 127
Alan, Abbot of Tewkesbury, 126
Alfred the Great, 19, 134
Allen, Ralph, 55
Anglo-Saxon (?) crypt at Gloucester, 84
Anselm of Aosta, Archbishop of Canterbury, 19
Apperley Court, 140
Arelate (Arles in Provence), 15
Ariminum (Rimini), 16
Assandune, Battle of, 132
Atrebates, British tribe, 15
Avening, Alice, and the Cirencester 'Vice, 158
Avon, River, 117
[142
Baldwin I., King of Jerusalem,
Barnet, Battle of (1471), 99
Basynge, Robert, destroyer of Cirencester Abbey, 162
Bath (Aquæ Sulis), 16
Bathurst, Allen, 1st Earl, 160–1
Bathurst, Henry, 2nd Earl, 161
Bathurst, Henry, 3rd Earl, 161
Beauchamp, Lord, 119
Beauchamp("Warwick")Chantry at Tewkesbury, 128
Bede (Bæda), 141
Beorhtric, King of Wessex, 94
Beornwulf, King of Mercia, 17, 18, 25 [10th Baron, 144
Berkeley, James Fitz-Hardinge,
Berkeley, Maurice II. Fitz-Hardinge, 6th Baron, 145
Berkeley, Maurice III. Fitz-Hardinge, 8th Baron, 145–146
Berkeley, Robert I. Fitz-Hardinge, 1st Baron, 143–144
Berkeley, Thomas III. Fitz-Hardinge, 7th Baron, 145
Berkeley, 20, 33, 54, 75, 141–146
Bicknell, William, Northleach wool-stapler, 166
Bishops, The Seven (1688), 82
Blackleech, Alderman, 63
Blond, Henry, Abbot of Gloucester, 29 [bury, 101
Bloody Meadow at Tewkes-
Boleyn, Anne, 20
Boteler, Reginald, Abbot, 40, 64
Boyfield, John, Abbot, 39, 69
Bridges, Humphrey, 159
Brien, Sir Guy de, Baron of Welwyn, 117, 122
Brydges, Sir Thomas, 59
Burgh, Hubert de, 58
Burhred, King of Mercia, 169

Caerleon-upon-Usk, 14
Calleva (Silchester), 15
Candidianus, Romano-British King, 16
Cantelupe, Walter de, 30
Cassy, Sir John, Judge, 138
Cassy, Alicia, Lady, 138–139
Ceawlin, King of Wessex, 16, 150
Cely and Co., wool-merchants (xvth century), 166
Charles I., 21, 75, 152–153
Chedworth, Bishop, 159
Cheltenham, 100

Cheltenham, Richard of, Abbot of Tewkesbury, 126
Cirencester, 14, 16, 149–162
Clarence, Prince George Plantagenet, Duke of, 98, 104, 124, 125 [121, 168
Clare, de, family, 97, 104, 120,
Cleveland, Barbara Palmer, Duchess of, 83
Cnut, King, 18, 133
Coelwulf, King of Mercia, 17
Compton, Thomas (glass-painter?), 81
Congreve, William, 161
Cotes, John, 126
Cotswold Hills, 117, 152, 162
Courtenay, Sir Richard, 122
Craik, Mrs., author of *John Halifax*, 127 [94, 95
Cranbourne Abbey (Dorset),
Crécy, Battle of (1346), 104, 122
Cripps, family of, Cirencester, 159–160
Cromwell, Oliver, 116
Cynvael, British prince, 16

Deerhurst Priory, 133–141 [16
Deorham (Dyrham), Battle of,
Despenser, le, family, etc., 76, 97, 98, 104, 123, 169
Despenser, Elizabeth le, 122, 128–129 [126
Despenser, Hugh III. le, 120,
Despenser, Hugh le, 128
Despenser, Isabelle le, Countess of Warwick, 127 [129
Despenser, Edward, Baron le,
Despenser, Richard, Baron le, 129
Despenser, Richard, last Baron le, 98 [152
Despenser, Thomas le, 130, 151,
Devonshire, Thomas de Courtenay, Earl of, 100–122
Dick, Sir R., Maj.-Gen., 66–67
Diocletianus, C. Aurelius Valerius, Roman Emperor (284–305), 149, 178
Dobuni, British tribe, 149
"Dodda," early English noble,
Dürer, Albrecht, 177 [94

Eadburh, Queen of Wessex, 94
Eadgar, King of England, 19
Ealdred, Archbishop of York, 18, 25–28
Edward the Confessor, 15, 71
Edward I., 75, 134
Edward II., 20, 33, 62, 68, 74–76
Edward IV., 98–102, 118
Edward, son of Henry VI., 98–102, 104, 130
Edward, Prince, second Duke of York (Earl of Rutland), 151
Elizabeth, Queen, 20
Essex, Robert Devereux, Earl of, 21, 153
Ethandune, Battle of, 18
Exeter Cathedral compared with Gloucester, 107

Fairford Church, 168–180
Farley, William, Abbot of Gloucester, 62
Feilding ("Beau"), 82, 83
Feilding, Mrs. Mary, 83
Feld, John de la, Abbot, 30
Fernvael, British prince, VIth century, 16
Fitz-Hamo, Mabel, daughter of Robert, Countess of Gloucester, 96, 97
Fitz-Hamo, Robert, Lord of Gloucestershire, 94–98, 103, 104, 116, 128
Fitz-Roy, Robert, first Earl of Gloucester, 120, 125
Flaxman, John, sculptor, 56–57
Flodden, Battle of, 158
Florence of Worcester, 26, 28

Foliot, Henry, Abbot of Gloucester, 30, 52, 73, 77
Fortey, John and Thomas, 166
Forthampton, 123
Forthington, Robert, Abbot of Gloucester, 126 [21
Foster, Sergeant John (1643),
Freeman, Professor, 26
Froucester, Walter, Abbot of Gloucester, 69, 84
Geoffrey of Monmouth, 96
Gerald de Brienne, Abbot of Cranbourne, 95
Gilbert, Gen. Sir Walter, 66, 67
Gloucester Cathedral, 25–88
  Ambulatories, 63–69
  Building of, 25–41
  Chapter-House, 88
  Choir, 69–78
  Cloisters, 84–87
  Crypt, 83, 84
  Exterior, 45–51
  Lady Chapel, 78, 83
  Monuments, 53–58, 65–68
  Nave, The, 51–53
  Organ, 60 Pulpitum, 59
  Tower, 48, 49
  Transepts, 60–63
  West Front, 46–47
  Windows, 57, 58, 72
Gloucester, Gilbert I. de Clare, Earl of, 121, 130
Gloucester, Gilbert II. de Clare, Earl of, 130
Gloucester, Gilbert III. de Clare, Earl of, 97, 120, 125, 130
Gloucester, Maud de Clare (*née* de Burgh), Countess of, 130
Gloucester, Gilbert I. de Clare, Earl of, 121, 130
Gloucester, Richard IV. de Clare, Earl of, 121
Gloucester, Thomas le Despenser, Earl of, 130
Gloucester (Glevum) City, 13–22, 133, 169
Godman, William, Abbot, 28
Gough, Field-Marshal Lord, 65, 66, 68
Grandisson, Katharine de, Countess of Salisbury, 129
Griffiths, Bishop of Gloucester, 60
Gualo, Cardinal, 20, 58
Gurney, Thomas, murderer of Edward II., 145
Hadley, Sir Humphrey, 122
Haines, Rev. H., 65
Hakebourne, John, Abbot, 159
Hanley, Richard, Abbot, 40, 41
Harding, Staller of Edward the Confessor, 143
Harding, the Crusader, 144
Harris, Thomas, organ-builder, 60, 116
Hastings, William, 1st Lord, 101
Helennes, Jean de, 146
Helias of Hereford, Sacrist of Gloucester, 29, 40
Henry I., 19, 94, 95, 96, 162
Henry III., 20, 29, 30, 58, 71, 75
Henry IV., 130, 134, 151, 152
Henry V., 127, 128
Henry VI., 98, 130, 134
Henry VII., 169
Henry VIII., 20, 158, 162
Hereford, Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of (1361), 59
Hereford, Roger Fitz-Osbern, Earl of, 88 [Earl of, 97
Hertford, Richard de Clare,
Horton, Thomas de, Abbot of Gloucester, 35, 36, 39, 69, 84
Howard, John, philanthropist, 55 [Earl of, 151
Huntingdon, John Holland,
Hwicce, or Hwiccas, English state, 17

Isabelle, Duchess of Clarence, 124
Isabelle, Countess of Warwick and Worcester, 127

Jenner, Dr. Edward, 54, 144
Jocelin de Welles, Bishop, 58
John, King of England, 20
Jones, John, M.P. for Gloucester (1604), 54
Julianus IV., Roman Emperor, 150

Kyneburh, 17

Lacy, Walter de, 88
Langstrother, Sir John, 122
Laud, William, Archbishop, 21
Leland, John, 40, 73
London, 14, 15, 19
Longdon Church, 140
Lumley, Thomas, Lord, 151
Lyon, John, artist-monk, 61

Machen, Mayor of Glo'ster, 57
Malmesbury, William of, historian, 95
Malverne, or Parker, William, Abbot of Gloucester, 74, 76
Marguerite of Anjou, 98, 130
Massey, General Edward, defender of Gloucester, 21
Matilda of Flanders, 169
Merrit, Thomas, barber-surgeon, 114
Micklethwaite, J. T., 140, 141
Monk, Dr. W., Bishop, 58
Monox, George, tomb of, 160
Montacute, Elizabeth de, 129
Montfort, Simon de, Earl of Leicester, 104
Morley, Mrs. Sarah, 56
Morris, William, 103
Mortain, Count Robert of, 94
Mortimer, Roger, Baron of Wigmore, 75, 145
Morwent, John, Abbot, 39, 40
Mydwyntter, William, 166

Nerva, M. Cocceius, Roman Emperor, founder of colony of Gloucester, 14
Neufmarché, Bernard de, 88
Newton, or Browne, John, Abbot of Gloucester, 61
Nicholson, William, Bishop of Gloucester, 158 [64, 73
Normandy, Robert, Duke of,

Odda, founder of Tewkesbury Abbey, 94, 140
Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, 94
Offa, King of Mercia, 17, 94
Osric, Prince of the Hwiccas, 17, 25, 74

Parry, Mr. Gambier, 62, 110
Parry, Sir Hubert, 55
Parsons, Rev. Ralph, 161
Pates, Richard, 63
Paul, Sir G. O., prison reformer, 54, 55 [146
Pearce, Richard (Dicky), jester,
Pearce, Thomas, Mayor of Berkeley, 146
Perry Hill, Tewkesbury, 100
Peter, Abbot of Gloucester, 28
Peter des Roches, Bishop, 58
Petronilla, St., 17
Pets on tombs, 139
Plautius, Aulus, Roman Governor-General of Britain, 13
Poictiers, Battle of, 145
Pope, Alexander, 55, 161
Powell, Sir John, Judge (Seven Bishops), 82, 83
Pudsey, Major, at siege of Gloucester, 21

Quennington Church, 180

Richard II., 74, 130, 151
Richard III., 101

Richard of Cornwall, Holy Roman Emperor, 71 [96
Robert, Abbot of Tewkesbury,
Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, 130 [115
Roberts, John, of Fiddington,
Rolf, first Duke of Normandy, 96 [14
Roman Legio II., "Augusta,"
Rupert, Prince, 21, 152, 153
Ruthall, Thomas, Bishop, 158

Salisbury, Katharine, Countess of, 129. *See* Grandisson
Salisbury, Thomas de Montacute, Earl of, 151
Salisbury, William de Montacute, Earl of, 129
Schmidt, Bernhard, organ-builder, 60
Scott, Sir Gilbert, R.A., 70, 71
Scott, Sir Walter, 55
Seabroke, Thomas, Abbot of Gloucester, 40, 45, 58
Serlo, Abbot, 18, 26–28, 76
Shâm Singh Atâriwala, Sikh General, 66, 68
Smith, Gen. Sir Harry, 66, 67
Sobraon, Battle of (1845), 65
Somerset, Edmund Beaufort, Duke of, 100–102, 122
Stapeldon, Walter de, Bishop, 75
Stapleton, Sir Bryan de, tomb of, 139
Staunton, Adam de, Abbot of Gloucester, 35, 36
Stokes, Thomas de, Abbot, 126
Streynsham, John, Abbot, 102
Strickland, Miss, and Deerhurst font, 140 [100
Swillgate Brook, Tewkesbury,

Tame, Sir Edmund, of Fairford, 170 [170
Tame, John, of Fairford, 169–
Tewkesbury, 94, 104
Tewkesbury Abbey Church:
  Choir, 118–121
  Eastern Chapels and Chantries, 121–130
  Exterior, 104–106
  Nave, 109
  Tower, 106–107, 117
  Transepts, 115–116
Thackwell, Sir John, 65–68 [94
Theuk, hermit of Tewkesbury,
Thokey, John, Abbot of Gloucester, 33–34, 36, 40
Tresham, Sir Thomas, 122

Victoria, Queen, 115

Wakeman, John, Abbot, 102, 123
Warburton, William, Bishop of Gloucester, 55, 56
Warwick, Isabelle, Countess of, 127, 130 [Earl of, 127
Warwick, Richard Beauchamp,
Warwick, Richard Neville, 98
Wenlock, John, Baron, 100, 114
Wharton, Thomas, first Duke of, 160 [141
Wilfrid, St., Bishop of York,
William I., 18, 19, 73, 88, 169
William II., 19, 73, 94
William of Curboil, Archbp., 20
Willis, Professor (cited), 33
Wulfstan, 18
Wyatt, Amie, tomb of, 114
Wygmore, John de, Abbot, 34, 35, 36, 51, 59–61
Wylington, Ralph de, 30

Zouche, Alan, Baron de la, 120

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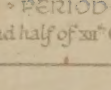

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